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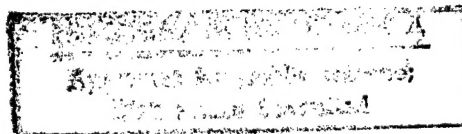
JPRS 82048

21 October 1982

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2066



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21 October 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BACKGROUND REPORT ON CHURCH FEDERATION, PROSPECTIVE HEAD PRESENTED

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German No 35, 27 Aug 82 p 18

['Theology and Church' feature article by Wolf-Dieter Zimmermann: "GDR Churches: A Non-Berliner at the Top--If Bishop Johannes Hempel Takes Over the Chairmanship of the Federation"]

[Text] Changes are likely to take place in GDR churches this fall. The bishop of Saxony could replace Werner Krusche.

Important changes can be expected in connection with the November synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (BER). Bishop Werner Krusche (Magdeburg) will resign as chairman of the Conference of Church Administrators--for reasons of age. A successor must be appointed. The present vice chairmen are Bishop Johannes Hempel (Dresden) and Bishop Horst Gienke (Greifswald). It is expected that Bishop Johannes Hempel will be elected by the Church Conference as its new chairman. This would mean that for the first time in the history of the Church Federation (founded in 1969) a non-Berliner would become head of the GDR churches and--a fact of even greater importance--he would be a Lutheran with a profile.

This could have consequences. At the present time, the Secretariat of the Church Federation suffers from the departure of important experts. They have taken on new tasks in different district churches; only a few experienced consultants have stayed on. The new chairman would, therefore, have to assemble a new "team" unless he wants to fall back on either his Dresden associates or on people in responsible positions in the Secretariat of the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church. It is assumed that he will do the latter because there are already good contacts between Hempel and the Lutheran church office in Berlin.

The selection of Bishop Hempel points to a problem that pervades all areas of church life. There is a large personnel gap between people of 65 and those in their 50's--a result of the war and postwar period. Bishop Krusche is the last of the group of church leaders who participated actively in the church struggle during the Hitler era. From this time he has retained a certain personal independence--some say even stubbornness. In any case, he belongs

to those who have an unmistakable profile. Whereas the group of people in their 50's has thus far remained almost entirely without profile. They have had no opportunity to develop one because their church careers were formed in ordinary times and under ordinary conditions.

Bishop Hempel, born in 1929, had his career formed primarily through his work as student pastor and as director of studies at the Leipzig Seminary. 10 years ago (barely 43 years old) he became a bishop. In addition, his home church in Saxony is in principle--according to the rules in force there--separated from the administrative church organization, and this has at times led to tensions between the bishop's office and the office of the district church.

People who know believe that the bishop--who acts more like a scholar--will find it difficult to defend his positions against the strong individuals in his church. On many people he makes the impression of being withdrawn, others think of him as inhibited. But those who know him better say that he deliberately acts with caution. He must get along not only with the 2,000 pastors of his district church but also with the most diverse tendencies, from Pietists to Traditionalists to those who are socially committed.

It was in Saxony that young people first raised the demand for a "social peace service." Toward the state, Bishop Hempel will show great restraint, as it is customary in the Lutheran tradition. At the present time, Hempel is "chief bishop" of all Lutheran churches in the GDR. He is also a member of several ecumenical committees. Because several years ago he resigned from important offices because of overwork, the question is asked how it will be possible in the future to combine the work of a district bishop with the duties of chairman of the GDR Church Federation. And the fear is expressed that the emphasis would shift after all from Berlin to Dresden because secretly--as observers note--the Lutherans have always considered the Berlin Secretariat of the Church Federation only as a temporary solution.

The Evangelical-Lutheran District Church of Saxony is not only the largest but also the most stable of the GDR churches. It has the highest per capita income in church revenues; it can cover all of its personnel expenses (financial support is needed only for building projects). In rural areas, 70 percent of the young people are still attending religious instruction [classes]. In larger cities this number drops to about 10 percent. In many places--especially also in the cities--there is an active parish life with strong participation by young people. In spite of this, however, the number of active parishioners is steadily declining. There are--on the average--four funerals for each one baptism. However, church revenues have risen steadily because in the GDR it is no longer considered "suspicious" to support the church financially. Also, many GDR citizens sympathize with the church even if they don't belong to it officially.

However, the different points of emphasis in church work have brought about a kind of dual track operation. There are, on the one hand, the administration, the bishop's directives and the synod. All these give directions and

set up regulations. The work in the parish, on the other hand, has to be done by the parish pastor, especially also for the committee lay people who must take care of their professional work outside the church. This situation could appear to be a break between the upper and lower church levels if the respective topics that are dealt with and the respective decisions that are made are compared. Items that are considered important on the agenda of the upper level of church life appear to the lower level as inner-church quarrels. Synod publications and administrative regulations are of hardly any importance for the questions that concern the parish.

Whatever is presently discussed in official church meetings (the formation of a "united church", questions of commitment and church code) finds little attention in the parishes. Even the important questions of military instruction in school and premilitary training are hardly topics of interest for the lower level; there the facts have to be taken as they are. The situation cannot be changed or, at least, only within direct, very narrow circles through a personal commitment or understanding. Because of these experiences the parish members are concerned especially with the question: how can Christians live, work and keep the faith in a differently oriented world? The point of discussion here is individual, practical life; and this discussion is hardly influenced by decisions on principles made by authorities and synod committees. This may be a little exaggerated; however, it points out one difficulty that may result in considerable tensions between the upper and lower church levels of a district church.

GDR pastors and parishes consider themselves primarily members of a district church. A feeling of belonging to the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR does not exist. Even a sense of unity among the Lutheran churches hardly seems to exist. The result of this consciousness of belonging to a district church is a pride in one's own church, especially when it is so strong and large and dependable as it is the case with the Church of Saxony. But this geographical limitation also has its dangers: how should a united church be formed and give directions if this district church consciousness is still so strong?

One observer who is able to judge the position of the churches rather well put the current problems in the following words: the pragmatic unity between Lutheran and United Churches seems to decrease more and more, Lutheran accents are becoming more and more obvious--i.e. the consciousness of authority and the two-power doctrine (the interpretation of the tasks of state and church). The United Churches, on the other hand, believe--in the sense of their experiences with the [so-called] confessing church--that the actual practice of faith is more important than the historically established confession of faith.

Among Lutherans there can be found, on occasion, a certain uneasiness toward the attempt to form a united church--out of Lutherans and United Church members. These Lutherans are even now--as some of them say--not very happy with the existing Church Federation. Their opposition to the Barmen Theological Declaration of the confessing church of 1934 (which United Church

members accept as a statement of faith because it describes the place and direction of the church for the present time) originates in the fear that Lutheran ideas could be watered down. Therefore, they are now trying to make the so-called Leuenberg Concordat (a newly formulated statement of faith without concrete directions) the common basis for all GDR churches and thereby to render the Barmen Declaration invalid. If they are successful in this attempt, the Lutheran position would not be in danger especially since hardly anybody is familiar with the Leuenberg Concordat and since therefore nobody can feel imposed upon by it.

There are observers who already speak again of a Lutheran power policy. In any case, the Lutherans have demanded that in the planned United church not only are the district churches to be given (as before) their rightful position (three of them are large and five small) but also that due consideration is given to the number of members of each district church which might possibly result in a Lutheran majority in some of the committees. The former harmony in which the eight GDR churches started to chart a common course in 1968 no longer seems to be intact. However, all these fears are balanced by the fact that all church leaders know: they can survive only if they are united.

It is noteworthy that in the Lutheran churches authority consciousness is becoming more and more important, especially in regard to the authority of the bishop. The most recent synod in Saxony discussed in detail the difference between gifts of grace (which are extended to every Christian) and means of grace (for which special office holders are designated). Parish catechists (i.e. those who assist in the fields assigned to deacons and teachers) are not given ordination because they are not, in the full sense of the word, bearers of the office of preaching the gospel. Also, there are several pastors who again consider themselves lords of their parishes.

In Lutheran churches there is a greater willingness to grant the state more of its "own right." According to the Lutheran two-power doctrine, the state has a direct mission from God.

This different appraisal of worldly circumstances among Lutherans and members of the United Church has led to different reactions to questions of peace. The Lutherans would gladly have sidestepped the whole problem of the church peace movement. It was only because of the broad participation by young people and the determined attitude of the United Churches that the Lutherans--at least this is the way it is explained--finally fell in line. For, after all, about 20 percent of the young people in the GDR are behind the peace action "Swords Into Plowshares." The fact that "questionable fringe groups" are also participating may be a problem. But meanwhile all churches have agreed that this movement must be protected. Bishop Hempel stated at the most recent Lutheran synod: the state should show more tolerance toward pacifist tendencies in GDR churches because this peace commitment is also the result of life in a socialist society.--In talking to GDR pastors it becomes obvious that at times they wish for a strong central church authority, hoping perhaps that a well functioning administration must also lead to a more intensive church life. That this is an illusion seems to become increasingly clear.

Therefore, a healthy parish consciousness has developed--especially among the pastors in Saxony--and this not only causes occasional problems for the Dresden church authorities but also at times serves as a balance against too many tactical moves of church politics.

Bishop Hempel--in case he should become the new chairman of the new Church Federation--will have to work hard in order to find a fair balance between the different tendencies in the district churches and the groups concerned with church politics. In addition, he will have to provide a profile for the entire church so that the centrifugal forces can be bound together again. In this task he has one advantage: he is a Lutheran from Saxony. And they are the ones who, at the present time, seem to carry special weight within the church community.

8889

CSO: 2300/395

DEARTH OF SENSITIVE TOPICS IN CURRENT GDR LITERATURE ANALYZED

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German Vol 32 No 36, 11 Sep 82 pp 14, 15

[Article by Prof Manfred Jaeger, lecturer on GDR literature, Essen University, Muenster: "The Old Sorrows of the Young GDR Literature--Latitudes for Sensitive Subjects Have Narrowed in the GDR"]

[Text] Among the most successful feature writers in the GDR is Heinz Knoblauch, a man hardly known in this country. A few months ago there appeared in the Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle/Leipzig, the tenth volume of various writings from his pen. In this book, "Berliner Fenster" (Berlin Windows), an essay entitled "Gespraechе mit Fischen" (Conversations with the Fish) appears, where, among other things he writes: "A swimming pool in our society is not just for people to stand around and look at, it's for training endurance swimmers. One day a child was brought in, terribly frightened, as described with awesome reality in a widely read novel. One reason I like my literary colleague is that he unleashes recollections from my own time in school, when any fun that I might have found in swimming was beaten out of me--no, what I ought to say is that it was "schooled out" of me. In 20 years we can expect to read a novel something like this: someone who has survived his ambitions drowns the man once responsible for his education. You shouldn't really call the fellow a father ... And his survivors wonder: why are such cruelties permitted? Well, just go have a look for yourself."

The passage offers some interesting insights into the function of prose literature in the GDR and also about the ways that it has an impact beyond purely private reading experience. Neither the novel nor its author is identified by name, but insiders know who and what is meant: Erich Loest's book "Es geht seinen Gang oder Muehen in unserer Ebene" (Things Take their Course or Efforts at our Level) published first in 1978 by the Mitteldeutscher Verlag Halle/Leipzig. One doesn't have to imagine the insiders to be an elite clique of specialists; Knoblauch is correct in speaking of a "widely read novel." Thus almost everyone knows which scene in the swimming pool is referred to: in the sixth chapter, the first-person narrator Wolfgang Wuelff interferes in a situation which seems to him to be intolerable. He can no longer just look on, as a "strong father" together with a swimming coach, try to teach a frightened child to swim by bullying him. He insists that they leave the child alone and finally barks at this exemplary citizen of the GDR: "You goddamned Fascist!"



## The Foundations of Combat Readiness Laid in the Swimming Pool

This minor incident from everyday life immediately took on a political dimension. Something that had never been discussed at education congresses or even in the press, came to consciousness here through a literary work: the problematic nature of an education system focussed on rigorous competition and achievement, of the image of the individual that reveals itself there and of the persistence of authoritarian fundamental structures in community life. The book's readers will be reminded of their own observations or at least be moved to reflection. A minority might see basic ideological values and educational ideals threatened, perhaps even the country's military patriotism, which is supposed to be instilled even into toddlers in the swimming pool. They take up arms against the critical intentions of the author: the unpleasant scene is played down as an exception, the negative behavior characterized as untypical.

It is at this tendency to play down what is painful that Knoblauch directs his challenge: "Well, just go have a look for yourself." Other defenders of the status quo call the father's brutish behavior "a little rough" but not really so bad after all. On the other hand, anyone outraged by the father's behavior is pilloried as a sniveller--a threat to the collective exertion of effort which alone can produce continued successes. This was the judgement, for example, of the critic Werner Neubert of the weekly SONNTAG, who concluded his tart rejection of the novel with the words: "If Loest's central literary figure can afford such hypersensitivity, sometimes neurotic and in any case thoroughly unproductive for a socialist society, he can, in reality, only do so because millions of other people in the country of the German Democratic Republic, no less sensitive than he, ever since 8 May 1945 have been, and continue to be, resolutely at work for what revolutionary socialist action, duty and responsibility call for!"

The so-called "firm resolution" takes precedence over pathological "hypersensitivity"--the people's healthy popular instinct sends its regards. Much the same charges were levelled at Christa Wolf's novel "Nachdenken ueber Christa T.," because its author treated her title figure sympathetically, including her doubts at ever being able to conform fully or ever being able to think in terms of achievement. It has been predictable that such books have been extraordinarily successful and that demand has vastly exceeded the publication runs allotted the official cultural authorities. If there were some kind of socialist free market economy at work instead of the ideologically determined paper rationing, most of these novels would have every likelihood of becoming bestsellers.

## Varied Fates of Controversial Books

The fate of such controversial books varies very much from case to case. Christa Wolf's "Christa T." caused her editor to be obliged to exercise self-criticism and to give up his position; later the basic attitude of the work was more or less tolerated, even though objections can still be heard to this day. In the case of Erich Loest, the publishing house, after being sharply attacked, quickly returned the rights to the book to its author so as to escape responsibility for its contractually agreed second edition.

After much behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing, it was possible to find another publisher to undertake a second printing of 10,000 copies; though judging from reactions in the press and, more importantly, word of mouth advertising, this was hardly more than a drop in the bucket in terms of real demand. The fact that Erich Loest now resides in the West can be attributed to the political furore aroused by this book and is also the result of the awareness that opportunities for dealing with problematic themes in literature have diminished as compared to those of the 1970's.

#### Socio-Political Long Range Effects

Still, there has been in the meantime a substantial number of books with socio-political long range effects. Despite their varying artistic quality, their reception has been associated with the more or less publicly aired controversy over what is "real life" in the "present." A more realistic image of the hopes and aspirations of a younger generation could be gained from Ulrich Plenzdorf's "Die neuen Leiden des jungen W." (The New Sorrows of Young W.) That the so-called "overcoming of Fascism" has probed deeper levels than those of the smug definition of the state as an anti-fascist one which has nothing to do with the German Reich, can be read from Christa Wolf's "Kindheitsmuster" (A Model Childhood).

Brigitte Reimann's posthumous novel "Franziska Linkerhand," treating not just architectural issues in the narrow sense of the appearance of the new, post-war cities, goes beyond this to explore the failures of interpersonal communication brought about by the housing situation.

The fact that laws supportive of women and "equal rights in the work process" are still a long way from bringing about fully realized emancipation could be the subject of a discussion based on a reading of the works of Irmtraud Morgner, Rosemarie Zeplin, Christine Wolter, Brigitte Martin and others. The interview notes, letters and diaries of the prematurely deceased Maxie Wander could also enliven the controversy surrounding this topic. In the texts written by women, a close link is found between their needs for emancipation (political as well) and their exploitation at work and in the family. Their stress also accounts for their bolder and less domesticated style.

There are many other authors who could be named, from Stefan Heym to Erwin Strittmatter, who have through their fictional characters and situations summoned up into consciousness much that has remained buried beneath the bombast of the media. Volker Braun as well, has repeatedly, in dramas like "Tinka" or "Schmitten," in prose texts such as the "Unvollendete Geschichte" (Unfinished Story) or the narrative "Die Tribüne" (The Grandstand), dealt with the problem of the limits set by the society upon the desires for freedom and the yearnings for happiness of the individual. In his "Unvollendete Geschichte" from the year 1977, which appeared in the GDR not as a book but as a one-time item in the periodical SINN UND FORM, Braun has a representative of middle-level bureaucracy say that an overly complicated literature would only upset him. The author gives an ironic accounting for this scepticism: "The reason for this is that writers will write about everything under the sun in the most rambling way, almost as if it had just occurred



to them, instead of agreeing on what was the most essential immediate issue and turning out the necessary book instead of som many without rhyme or reason."

#### The Public's Expectations

In such a connection, the much used metaphor of the "various handwritings" in literature proves itself to be a very indistinct one. What is at issue with the various standpoints, concepts, world-views and so on is not so much their multifarious forms of something that is common to them all as it is of an objectively valid perception of the world. Authors, according to each one's inclination, talent and commitment react in different ways to the opportunity, with the help of their craft, to accept the function of a practically nonexistent critical journalism in the GDR "alongside of" their own expression. Unspoken and long suppressed problems infiltrate their way into novels, poems and plays. For years, issues have found their way to expression in literature outside the obsolete cliches of positive or negative heroes, which otherwise would have found no forum. This is why it can sometimes happen that literary works can find a social breadth of response which they would not normally merit on the basis of their literary quality alone.

Since belletristic literature in the GDR will adopt subjects and issues, which find no room in the narrowly conceived guidelines of the media, the old formula of the "irreplaceability of art" finds new confirmation. It opens up--despite all the hurdles put in its way--room for societal self-recognition. Their public's expectations for guidance and comfort of any kind are frequently looked upon by authors as a demand that they cannot possibly meet. On the other hand, this strong reader interest also reinforces the self-consciousness of the writers, who can well make use of such support if they are to withstand the temptation to heed their own inner censor. Most authors judge their contemporary reality by the touchstone of some ideal (whether suppressed or forgotten). This is the reason that they are constantly wandering into a political force field, often without choosing to do so, since cultural criticism of this kind upsets all of those whose world-view is suffused with pride in the accomplishments of the GDR.

9878

CSO: 2300/414

PROCEDURES OUTLINED TO PREPARE TANKS FOR UNDERWATER TRAVEL

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1982 (signed to press 15 May 82)  
pp 177-178

[Article by Lt Col R. Eggert, engineer: "Preparation of Tank Crews for Underwater Travel"]

[Text] Underwater travel training promotes collective thinking and acting of tank crews more than any other type of driving training. The essential part of this is that the crew members are convinced of the excellent combat suitability of their fighting technique and equipment and that they reinforce their confidence in their fighting techniques even further.

The guiding principle consists of executing all measures for the preparation and execution of underwater travel in the form of collective training of structural crews. The tank crew trains together and successfully to attain primary diver's qualification in accordance with the requirements of the combat training program. Thereafter all members of the combat collective became familiar with the safety regulations, emergency procedures and rescue equipment. This provides a good basis for further training.

It is absolutely mandatory that safety regulations be observed during underwater travel. Should it occur that experienced crew members fail to take appropriate safety precautions, their superiors must take them to task for this. Only when this has been settled and the procedures have become second nature can this training phase be considered finished.

Tank crews must be trained as follows in preparation for underwater travel:

- learn the theoretic principles of underwater travel;
  - prepare the tank for underwater travel;
  - drive the tank in the field with covered observation gear;
- the commander practices observation through a periscope and in directing the tank independently;
- drive the tank with escape duct mounted.

## 1. Learning the Theoretical Principles

Indoctrination on the peculiarities of water obstacles and on the possibilities of overcoming them is best done at the sand table and by using a river profile model. Specific riverbank characteristics should be demonstrated at the water obstacle itself. The sand table serves to demonstrate the task and the organization of rescue and recovery. It is important that every unit participate in the demonstration of a recovery operation.

Additional priority items of this training phase are:

- the rules for approaching the water obstacle; entering, traversing and existing from the water obstacle;

- the tank crew's duties during underwater travel, procedures to be followed during an underwater stop and during rescue and recovery;

- the safety regulations.

## 2. Crew Training for Preparing Tanks for Underwater Travel.

Preparing the tanks for underwater travel by the crews is a component of technical training based on the training program. Emphasis is to be given to the following items:

- demands made on the tanks in underwater (UF) travel;

- sequence and extent of crew members' duty in preparing the tank;

- maintenance to be performed on the tank prior to installing UF equipment;

- maintenance of the tank after underwater travel.

It has proven useful to divide tank crews of the unit concerned into training groups. With the tanks available for the purpose, they are trained in the general composition of the UF equipment and the technical details. They are indoctrinated in the standard timing and sequence for installing and dismantling UF equipment. The instructor of the training groups demonstrates the way the detachable parts of the UF equipment are stowed on the tank and taken along.

During practical training for preparing the tank for underwater travel the tank crew acts in its organizational configuration. At the beginning, a well-trained tank crew demonstrates to all personnel the complete set of tasks incident to installing and dismantling the UF equipment. Thereafter the individual crews perform these tasks independently. It has been found useful to display technical diagrams at the training sites.

The instructor checks all procedures for correctness, compares timing standards and upon completion, checks the quality of the performance.

The tank's water tightness is checked with a low-pressure sealing procedure and recorded. Thereafter the crews dismantle the UF equipment and stow it on the tank. Installation and dismantling of the UF equipment must be practiced until such time as all crews are mastering the task in accordance with the norms and high quality requirements.

### 3. Driving Training With Covered Observation Equipment.

This training is a very important phase of preparing crews for underwater travel. The commander observes through the periscope and directs the tank. He must react to correctional guidance he receives from the instructor via radio. The driver drives the tank. To maintain course, he uses the gyro compass. This training is accomplished in the field.

A course of 300 meter minimum length is selected on which all elements corresponding to a water obstacle are erected. Flags or posts mark the limits of the crossing site, the markers for the trail route, the entry and exit of the trail, the technical monitoring site and the approach path toward the presumed water obstacle.

The tank takes its position about 100 meters in front of the marked trail. On radio command by the instructor the tank proceeds to the technical monitoring site. Here it stops and all procedures required at this site are accomplished. On command, travel is resumed toward the marked trail. The driver directs the tank toward the indicated course and sets the scale of the gyro compass on zero. Another stop is made at the pretended river bank and the driver's observation equipment is covered from the outside. On command of the instructor, travel resumes; the gyro compass is used for orientation.

The commander observes the route through the periscope. The instructor is able to provide directional corrections on the radio. Upon reaching the second river bank the observation equipment is uncovered and the tank assumes its initial position for its return travel and a repeat exercise. On the return journey the commander is tasked with correcting the course himself and with the aid of the gyro compass to circumnavigate an obstacle consisting of poles.

Prior to actual underwater travel the crews are trained for one day at the water training site, one platoon at a time, at different training stations.

#### Station 1: Principles of Underwater Travel

First training site: Sand table and river profile model

--peculiarities of the water obstacle;

--organization of rescue and recovery

Second training site: Rescue equipment

--Rules for using the RG-UF with practical training

Third Training Site: Driving rules

--Driving rules for the approach, entry, traversing and exit from the water obstacle;

--safety rules.

Station 2: Check of the tank crews' expertise in preparing the tank for underwater travel

--The number of training sites (tanks) corresponds to the number of crews.

Station 3: Driving the tank with covered observation equipment and practice by the tank commander of observation through the periscope.

The next phase of preparing tank crews for overcoming water obstacles under combat conditions is traveling with the escape duct. This is done during practical underwater travel training.

9273

CSO: 2300/3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JULY-AUGUST 1982 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jul 82 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37, No 7/8, July-August 1982, signed to press 15 June 1982, pp 673-865: "Responsibility in Our Time." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] This month EINHEIT is published as a double issue. "Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism" is the topic of issue No 7/8 which contains contributions by scholars of various disciplines as well as by experienced party workers.

Questions concerning the purpose of life, the values and ideals of socialism find a great response particularly today, according to philosopher Alfred Kosing. He points out that with the continued maturing of our society, the increasingly pronounced development of its advantages and its humanistic character, the objective conditions as well as the subjective desire for a purposeful life are also growing. That in this context the struggle for securing peace is the supreme dictate is stressed by Guenter Kalex and Wolfram Neubert in the subsequent article.

To master the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy requires us to mobilize all material and intellectual potentials particularly in the enterprise collectives, according to Jochen Hertwig. "In the political leadership work, the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Management," the writer who is the latter's first secretary explains, "attaches paramount importance to the development of a high sense of responsibility and duty, the constant improvement of technical knowledge and skill as well as to the exemplary work discipline." Examples from the Oder Bezirk demonstrate in this context in particular the role of competition.

Gerd-Rainer Radtke discusses the relationship between scientific-technological progress and human thought and action. Rolf Sonnemann's article is headlined: "On the Ethos of the Socialist Scientist."

The current EINHEIT issue also carries excerpts from Margot Honecker's address at the Central Directors Conference as well as the paper presented by Hermann Axen at the international conference in Sofia on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov. Two other articles are devoted to the work of Clara Zetkin and the cultivation of her legacy.

CSO: 2300/412

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

COMBINES, FACTORIES TO FOCUS ON STRICTER DISCIPLINE, WORK MORALE

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 701-707

['Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Rolf Jobst, social scientist, secretary for economic policy, SED Gera Bezirk Management: "Sense of Responsibility and Performance Capacity"]

[Text] By drawing general conclusions from good party work it is being shown how the formation and solidification of socialist work attitudes, which are so important for high economic achievements, are being promoted in combines and enterprises. Which new requirements arise in particular with the needed enforcement of the party's economic strategy? Which attitudes are of critical influence on top performances in science and technology, and what is to be done for a more pronounced socialist work morale?

The critical prerequisite for carrying on our main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy in the 1980's and for strengthening socialism and the GDR's contribution to the preservation and safeguarding of peace is "our people's great effort toward a high economic performance increase."\* Organizing this work in terms of the 10th party congress resolutions necessitates new, far-reaching political, economic and ideological conclusions--as was brought out at the most recent central committee session--in view of the altered reproduction conditions and, particularly, of the more intense class struggle between imperialism and socialism. The party organizations in our bezirk are facing these requirements and mainly aim their purposeful political-ideological work at making the working people aware of how much for the safeguarding of peace depends on their personal commitment and how much life in our country and the well-being of all citizens depend on their struggle for high economic results.

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 48.

In securing a stable economic performance increase and the consistent everyday fulfilment of the planned production performances on each job and in each collective, the combines and enterprises in our bezirk that are making the best headway are the VEB Carl Zeiss Combine Jena, the Wilhelm Pieck Chemical Fiber Combine Schwarza, and the Silbitz and Wema steel foundry Zeulenroda. Looking for the reasons why that is so, one finds that there the party organizations have assumed clear campaign positions, effectively encourage the political sense of responsibility and the initiative of the managers, and always are mindful of the fact that good economic results are achieved primarily where working people identify with the plan tasks, are involved not only with their minds but also with their hearts, and where socialist attitudes predominate. In those party organizations one is mindful of the fact that answers are needed in our enterprises for constantly new questions, especially today with its ever closer entwining of economic, scientific-technical and social processes and their complex management. Their working style is marked by a consistent application of the central committee resolutions in each and every party and work collective and a regular, strict control and analysis as well as compelling generalizations drawn from tried and tested management and work experiences. This working style above all excels by confident relations with the working people. That includes consultations with the work collectives about problems now ripe for solution and the communists' setting fine examples.

#### The Growing Weight of Socialist Work Attitudes

Fulfilling the demanding tasks of the economic plan in the bezirk and surpassing it in commodity and construction output by at least two full days of production--without any extra material and energy expenditure--attaches exceedingly great importance to the development of the working people's moral characteristics, mainly to forming and solidifying the socialist attitude toward work. Experiences in everyday party work in our progressive combines indicate that a conscientious, honest and socially useful work, the core of the socialist way of life, calls for an extensive development of such moral principles in life as highly aware discipline and organization, care for the protection and increase of social wealth, mutual comradely assistance and intolerance toward deficiencies, obstruction and irresponsible work. The decisive impulse for a conscious work attitude are work motives based on sound ideological and political insights and value judgments, their most important foundation being the consistent application of the performance principle.

All the more important it therefore is to elucidate to the working people--through picking up their own experiences--the consistent implementation of the unity of economic and social policy in its whole political and economic range. It must be made perfectly clear that the party's political, economic and social goals have to be met under conditions where the development of the world economy and of the international market shows that it is becoming increasingly important to produce more at lower costs.

Socialist work attitudes will best develop where one struggles with party-minded consistency for plan fulfilment in a frank and comradely atmosphere, and where the need for hard and strenuous daily work is correctly and convincingly explained in political terms. That is also a climate where, e.g.,



the movement for assuming commitments spreads among competition initiators, innovators and rationalizers, a movement that has noticeably grown in our bezirk in scope and depth and is releasing concrete impulses for a high performance increase and the formation of socialist personalities.

The mobilizing force in the struggle for best achievements, it turns out, are the communists who are taking the lead as competition initiators, assuming high obligations themselves and, through their elan, sweeping their colleagues along. These are comrades such as Gerhard Kuehn of VEB Electronics Gera, Wolfgang Suchy of VEB Textima Gera, Andreas Finkernagel of the Carl Zeiss Combine Jena, Thea Putze of the Ceramics Combine Hermsdorf, or Willi Czerny of the Schwarza chemical fiber works. They are creating an atmosphere in their collectives where initiatives and the will to perform, bold solutions and risk willingness prosper; they defy mediocrity and smugness.

On the other hand, our analyses also bring out clearly that where subjective shortcomings are tolerated in the management and planning process and discontinuity and irregularities are permitted in the production and sales process, trends of routine, indifference and labor discipline violations not rarely occur.

Performing conscientious, honest and socially useful work always comes combined with strictly concrete duties on every job, each management level, and every new situation. It comes out not only in such general demands, that apply anywhere, as punctuality, integrity, reliability, and obeying discipline. So we think it necessary to place in the center also in party education always the given concrete demands made on responsible, imaginative and conscientious work. New economic criteria apply today everywhere in our country; everything must be done to direct the working people's creativeness at the economic priority requirements and ensure the implementation of the 10 key points in our economic strategy in a complex fashion and under any conditions. We have every good reason to say that tasks have to be undertaken which, in terms of economic expectations and results, surpass any previous measures. Increasing labor productivity at new dimensions, accelerating scientific-technical progress, enhanced refinement and better utilization of raw material and fuel, surpassing export targets, cutting back extra imports, returning allocations to the economy, and altogether improving the cost/benefit ratio decisively--all that calls not only for new economic solutions and not only makes for a higher political demand, but it also asks for a higher sense of political responsibility and for greater discipline.

Our political work has taught us that in each instance--be it the strengthening of our domestic raw material base, the transition to refining metallurgy, the application of the latest technology, or what have you--the development of highly efficient solutions and necessary changes in the production structure in the combines and enterprises can be coped with successfully if all matters are in good time and concretely discussed with the working people. Important reserves can be tapped if the ideological debate is aimed at rapidly renewing the production assortments while costs are held down, and without any detriment to the performance. Making something new take hold--this became clear everywhere--calls for a new approach to economic, scientific and technical tasks

while it also presents a challenge to one's moral posture--honesty toward one-self and toward society, punch and pertinacity, fighting spirit and intolerance, optimism and daring. Wherever such attitudes are being fostered by the party organizations in the enterprises and party-minded debates in situ are not evaded, the work collectives and their managers today clearly espouse the following positions:

--Plan quotas are met and, when economically necessary, surpassed. The basis for it lies in exhausting one's own possibilities and a suitable use made of all there is available. This can also replace imports without reducing the performance.

--Available raw materials and energy sources are used with the greatest care. Material and financial allocations, balanced out on one's own, are returned to the state, which reduces costs further.

--Everything is done to get along without new investments. Efforts are made to organize the efficient use of all available funds and ensure productivity boosts by technical improvements and higher shift capacity operations.

--The maxim in our conduct on every job and in each field is extreme thrift and the most cautious handling of all funds. This surely does not suggest a "poor people's policy" if everything is done to use raw materials, energy and material with highest efficiency and economize time and money, but rather a clear conception of the requirements behind the law of time economy in our society.

#### Scientific-Technical Progress--A Moral Claim

Bezirk management finds one of its priority tasks in supporting the new initiatives which were sparked by the party and trade union elections and in initiating new bold solutions bringing about a closer cooperation of science and technology with production and serving to speed up the scientific-technical progress. The experiences of such combines and enterprises in our bezirk as VEB Carl Zeiss Jena, the VEB Wilhelm Pieck Chemical Fiber Combine Schwarza, the Hermsdorf Ceramics Combine, Wema Zeulenroda, or the bezirk-managed synthetic products combine of Eisenberg, underscore that nowadays the drawing board and the laboratory have become the pivot and fulcrum for finding, and applying, new highly efficient solutions.

High scientific-technical achievements at VEB Wema Zeulenroda, e.g., in the high-performance automatic cutter under development, have made sure an intrinsic value improvement up by 2.7 times, the use of a microelectronic return time control, a workpiece flow control, a modern diagnostic system, a reduction in the noise level and other innovations with fine sales opportunities. A new machine in demand, thus far not contained in the production program of the enterprise, is being developed in only 10 months and will already come on the market late in 1982.

To have contributed to economically so successful a solution is not only a reason for contentment and joy in their work by all involved, it also is an

important impulse to shaping and reinforcing high work morale, which is of such great weight, particularly, in motivating researchers and engineers for high achievements. Time and time again it is being shown, however, how important rigor, reliability and tenacity are for solving the tasks assigned in this field of work, and how much one's reliance on oneself is given wings by success and public recognition for one's work and inspires toward higher aims. We should take much more account of how much professional pride--borne by good results in one's work--encourages performance. Mainly in good and well performing work collectives, high value is attributed to the cultivation of such traits, and the party, trade union and state manager jointly see to it that sincerity, modesty, confident fellowship and helpfulness are deepened and are coupled with the will to perform, diligence, prudence and energy, as that then pervades the atmosphere and tone in the work collective.

Normally the formation of such attitudes, the enforcing of socialist norms of conduct in a collective, is a lengthy process in which factors like the experience of success, good and bad experiences with work and management, fair or unfair performance ratings, the quality of political-ideological work and, of course, the whole climate of society play a considerable role. To fashion socialist attitudes toward work it is not the push and shove that plays the main role. All the more important it is not to waste time, to pick up success, and to show consistency and patience in ideological work. What with all the requisite pressure for high efficiency, management activity always has to consider that new work requirements also always give rise to new questions concerning the work morale, and this in settled collectives as well as in those where young people have to get their bearings and get used to things. Only remember the vast changes connected with the transition to multi-shift labor. And that also applies to the science and technology field. Always again it comes down to a creative and critical attitude toward one's own achievements and the will to face implacable world standard comparisons, and to an honest readiness to check against social requirements, and to surpass, the performance targets set down in the official duty records. That includes a deliberate position on presciently taking what will be needed in the future for a starting point for scientific-technical objectives, dodging no difficulties, and straightening out completely any problem once recognized as important. Another necessary implication is to halt the practice of waiting until mass production to do away with the "children's ailments" of a new product and its manufacture, incurring large outlays and public loss.

The experiences of our combines and enterprises at the Leipzig Spring Fair also underscore that one can prevail on international markets only by putting top achievements on the market with the highest degree of novelty and the economically most efficient manufacture. And that in turn largely depends on the attitude, understanding and sense of responsibility in the work collectives and on purposeful management. If--as has been the case in some enterprises--still only the quantitative fulfilment of the plan comes first while qualitative factors are partly ignored in all their complexity, if one holds on to longtime production assortments and settles for considerable differences of levels in the economic effectiveness of science and technology, instead of coming to grips with them through experience exchange and performance comparisons and noticeably raising the number and scope of top products doing well on the world market, we are up against positions doing us not a little harm.

While necessarily taking issue with the adherents to such standpoints and analyzing models worthy of emulation, as it is regular procedure within the scope of ordinary confident bezirk management secretariat conferences with combine and enterprise directors, chief operators and scientific-technical personnel, we brought it about that increasingly more enterprises fully confront the new and higher demands in science and technology. They are promoting a working climate "in which scientific-technical top achievements prosper, the advanced international state of the art is turned into the point of departure and yardstick for their own creative work, and the latest natural science data are translated, with pioneering and inventive spirit, with daring and the readiness for risks, into highly effective procedures, technologies and technical equipment solutions."\*

In a constantly growing number of our combines and enterprises, an insight well proven in life is brought to realization through management practice, to the effect that for achieving high results it is decisive for every task tackled to reestablish always again the unity of policy, ideology, economics and organization and motivate all working people for high achievements through political conviction.

A high grade of conceptual work and ambitious leads in the official duty records, a subject-related organization of the research collectives involving experienced innovators and rationalizers, the concentration of capacities, working in accordance with concrete and accountable limits, conducting effective competition in the research collectives and an accelerated development and production application mark that working method by which our most advanced collectives, in the Wilhelm Pieck Chemical Fiber Combine Schwarza, for instance, have started to put new measures into effect in the management and planning of research and application processes and in the level and speed of scientific-technical work.

#### Exemplary Experiences of a Party Organization

The comrades in Schwarza depend on that the working people in the work collectives of their enterprise take part all the more actively in management and planning, the more political mass activity picks up the experiences, motivation and performance of the best workers, and the more concretely information is given on which tasks have to be solved in the further deepening of intensification and rationalization. Under enterprise party organization leadership and together with combine and trade union management, target-directed clarity was produced about the economic requirements of the 1980's, and the resolute guideline was issued not to demand much of others while reserving modest goals for oneself but--quite on the contrary--mainly to double one's own efforts.

For that, regular status reports, the work with party activists, insisting on strict order in the work with official duty records and in accounting for their results, socialist cooperative work and effective economic propaganda have proven as necessary as purposefully working with material and moral stimuli.

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\*"Aufgaben und Erfahrungen der Grundorganisationen bei der Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des X. Parteitages der SED" (Tasks and Experiences of the Basic Organizations in Implementing the 10th SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 48.

In the outcome of all that, the campaign programs were revised--notably in the party collectives of the researchers, technicians and technologists--and it was seen to it that the objectives of the campaign and competition programs are in controllable, accountable unity.

In the chemical fiber combine, for economically crucial research and application tasks, a complex competition is being organized among research, production, technology, procurement and sales, economics, personnel and training, in order to speed up scientific-technical progress. Assuming a research guarantee for certain tasks in the science and technology plan has also been found useful. It is being observed by an appropriate material recognition which depends on attaining the expected economic parameters over extended production periods and provided the product meets its tests on the markets. It also has had a positive effect that it is more and more being considered immoral to claim that a research topic is terminated while it has not yet demonstrated its maturity in practice.

Such a managerial style produces high economic results and helps in the personality development of the managers, scientists and all working people. This increases the awareness of personal responsibility for larger and more complex interconnections, more strongly develops the readiness for cooperation and subordination to the relations of socialist cooperative work and to complying with preceding and subsequent areas, and strengthens the shared responsibility of researchers, technicians and production workers for making scientific-technical results rapidly and smoothly effective. Ultimately all these traits take on shape on the basis of a fundamental attitude that is marked by dissatisfaction with one's own mediocrity and by the eagerness to tap one's own reserves without any reservation.

Traits of personal responsibility become all apparent if one looks, e.g., at the work with the "material-economic performance certificate," a new initiative of the Wilhelm Pieck Chemical Fiber Combine Schwarza. This initiative is such that for each work collective adaptable material economy parameters are allocated and working people commit themselves personally to abide by them, so that they are publicly accounted for which, in typical worker's fashion, produces a high moral effect. This way the enterprise can return funds to the economic budget at a clip of M 5.7 million in 1982.

Intensive political-ideological work preceded that outcome. It made the managers and all other working people realize much that was new. It brought home to them the new criteria for economic requirements. After all, now it was no longer merely a matter of saving material and energy in the customary form, where results are computed by the year's end, but it amounted to relinquishing planned raw materials in advance.

In its everyday political work, Schwarza gathered the experience that in developing such an initiative it is particularly important to explain the total strategy for enterprise and combine development to all working people, set down, in consequence of it, a delineated task for the collective and each individual, and never to lose sight of the fact that the results essentially depend on what the working people and collectives involved know and can do, and on how much the campaign positions, sense of responsibility and personal commitment to the solution of overall social tasks have been developed.

As in the VEB Wilhelm Pieck Chemical Fiber Combine Schwarza, in many other combines and enterprises as well the working people--headed by the communists--with discipline and reliably confront the solution of ambitious tasks, with fighting spirit, creativeness and initiative. It shows we are successfully advancing along the course of the party program, "in further developing and perfecting the production relations as relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance among working people and among work collectives, and in strengthening the collectivity in public relations."\*

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\*"Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 20.

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CSO: 2300/412

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EDUCATION MINISTER ON NEED FOR 'POLITICALLY EXPERIENCED TEACHERS'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 107, 16 Jul 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Margot Honecker Calls for Patience in the Political Education of the Youth." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by the GDR education minister cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin education minister Margot Honecker has asked the GDR teachers for patience in the political-ideological education of youth. She wrote in the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1982) that youth was debating ideological, philosophical and moral problems with an open mind. It was not "satisfied with flat arguments or general declarations" but wanted to get to the "heart of the matter." Yet "the complicated problems of the on-going revolutionary process with its advances and temporary setbacks" were not always easily understandable, and no one should take an easy way out by "dismissing questions raised by the young people as 'politically unclear.'" Teachers should be advised "to help the young people patiently in finding their place in political life and taking their stand on the proper side." Political work with youth, Margot Honecker continued, should have to be aggressive and persuasive but also "empathetic" and concerned with the motivation for attitudes and conduct. Haste, uneasiness and perfunctoriness made for too poor a soil on which educational work could thrive.

GDR Education Minister's Speech

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 716-728

[Excerpts from speech by Margot Honecker, member, SED Central Committee; minister for public education; given at Central Directors Conference in Karl-Marx-Stadt, 10-12 May 1982: "Each Student to Be Guaranteed the Best Start in Life"]

[Text] These excerpts from part of a speech at the Central Directors Conference, proceeding from the role of the socialist school in the social development process, deal mainly with the pedagogues' responsibility in turning youths into steadfast

fighters for the socialist revolution through aggressive ideological work; the need to encourage all individual talents and abilities of all students; the polytechnical secondary school as an education institution of a new quality that truly serves to form men in the comprehensive sense; and selected issues in improving the quality and efficiency of educational work in the lower, middle and upper grades and in uniform actions to be taken by the collective of pedagogues.

The 10th party congress, as one knows, has confirmed that the strategy for the development of our public education as worked out by the Eighth Pedagogical Congress, or to put it differently, the tasks for the communist education of youth formulated comprehensively by the congress, will determine our work for a long time ahead. This may well be the right moment, after our third party plenum and in looking forward to the next school year, for us to clarify how it was accomplished and what we have to do so that from every school in our country young people will be ushered into life who stand up well in their work and personal life and fight on the proper side of the barricades in the world-wide class conflict--young people who, for the sake of socialism and peace, or for the cause of humanity and the well-being of all, including their own well-being, are ready to dedicate themselves with all they know and can do and their whole person, and this under any conditions and in any situation.

Aware of our responsibility we therefore keep asking ourselves time and time again what we can and must do so that youth forms a correct picture of the world and, under the conditions of intensifying class struggle, the sharpening struggle between socialism and imperialism, will know where to stand. Youth must know that there is no other way for mankind but to establish the socialist society so that the peoples can free themselves from the infernal cycle of exploitation--oppression--war. This knowledge youth must have to cope with the struggles ahead; because as long as there are hostile classes there will be class struggles. This historic truth is more pertinent than ever. The old society does what it can to survive. This all the more so since the triumphant march of socialism is pushing it more and more into a historic defensive.

#### Aggressive, Persuasive Ideological Work

We have a great responsibility to turning youths into steadfast fighters for the cause of the socialist revolution and familiarizing them with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which alone can provide them with insights into the laws by which the world is moving, by making them aware of which tasks we have to face in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in our country and for the continued advance of the revolution in the world and the preservation of peace. By providing youth with our world-outlook, we are also instilling historic optimism, the realization that ours is the only correct way, that socialism cannot be stopped and that the peoples can turn back the warmongers, provided they fight with all they have for the preservation of peace.



These troubled times raise many questions. Our girls and boys expect much of their teachers. They take it for granted their teachers know all about politics and about the sciences that illuminate the laws of nature and society. They expect answers from them for the many concrete questions life raises. A teacher may of course say: I do not have an answer now, I must find out myself and read up on it. Yet the students expect their teachers to stand by what they are saying. And looking back at the many political fitness tests in months and years behind us, we may well affirm: Our teachers have performed aggressive and persuasive ideological work. We have never taken the easy way out in our political-ideological education. We have always considered that in ideology there is no coexistence, that the struggle between the two social systems is punctuated by tough and merciless ideological war.

We always have been aware that neglecting ideological work makes room for enemy ideology. Sharing in the shaping of its own socialist society deliberately can only be done by a youth that knows what socialism is. The demands made on youth today conform to the altered conditions of our life and struggle, but they demand no less from youth. High demands are made on young people in their jobs, in production, in the field of science and also on those in the army and the young working mothers. The young people we have educated are not doing badly but are outstanding in many fields.

With a fine education, our young people gain an increasing ability and readiness for independent thinking. They are open-minded to politics, party-minded, interested in politics, and carry on frank debates on ideological, philosophic and moral problems. An important result of the educational work of our schools, our youth association, and all party educational work is that the perception and conduct of our young masses are deeply pervaded with the moral sense that what serves the life and well-being of the people and the happiness of mankind is what is ethical. To this value concept, which is typical only of socialism, the entire education and training efforts of our schools are oriented.

Our teachers know ideological work among the young people must be thorough. They try to help the young people to acquire a firm standpoint reflected in an active position on their civic, patriotic and internationalist duties. They seek to develop their readiness and ability to strengthen and defend socialism at all times. Youth is not satisfied with flat arguments and general declarations, as each of us has found out. They want to go to the heart of the matter. A high demand is placed on educational work in enabling young people to approach all manifestations and processes of public life with scientific objectivity and judge them from the standpoint of the working class.

The complicated problems of the ongoing revolutionary process with its advances and temporary setbacks are not always easily understandable and no one must take an easy way out by prematurely dismissing questions raised by the young people as "politically unclear." A teacher bearing a high responsibility for the ideological work among a large sector of youth is advised to help the young people patiently in finding their place in political life and taking their stand on the proper side. In common with the youth association we have to perform aggressive, persuasive political work which must also be empathetic and be concerned with the motivation for attitudes and conduct, challenge standpoints and

opinions and further the ability to advocate them, too. We know much depends on our indoctrinating the students, through sound scientific and logical cogency in instruction and in all educational work, knowing how to properly motivate their attitude and conduct.

With good reason we have aimed at familiarizing the girls and boys more thoroughly with the history of socialism in our country, the struggle for power by the workers class and its strengthening, consolidation and defense, in providing them with a vivid picture of the birth and growth of socialism. Where we came from, how we proceeded, who was with us and who was against us--these are questions youth must have an answer for, must know to be aware of what is going on today and understand the course on which we are. For our history is teaching us irrevocable eternal truths we must never lose sight of while marching ahead. Instilling loyalty to our socialist fatherland in youth demands conveying insights and lessons about historic development that will be indispensable for conscious patriotic and internationalist action and conduct for the rest of life. As the history of the growth of our GDR teaches: Only where the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been and are our compass and are applied consistently and creatively, the idea of socialism truly turns into reality. The more than three decades of our workers and farmers power provide irrefutable evidence for that the process of revolutionary change in the world, as initiated by the Great Socialist October Revolution, is irreversible despite all attempts at halting it. This is an irrevocable historic insight, and the development of our GDR irrefutably proves that the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union is the stable foundation for its security and successes forever.

GDR history proves that our strength lies exclusively in the community of the socialist countries and in our allegiance to it. Our actions are based on proletarian internationalism. Nationalism has no chance among us.

And above all, this is what the successful development of our GDR is teaching us: The working class can fulfil its historic mission only if led by a Marxist-Leninist party closely linked with the masses, and because we have such a party, we shall cope with the struggles of the future.

The three decades of the GDR attest to this: The foundation for successful advances is and remains the authority and consolidation of socialist state power, the spread of socialist democracy. We shall allow no one to touch socialist state power. We understand socialist democracy as the deliberate everyday action of the people's masses in their exercise of power.

The history of the growth and strengthening of our socialist GDR teaches our youth: Our successes did not fall into our lap, they are the outcome of our people's diligent efforts. The people has made history through its labor.

More than three decades of peace in Europe prove the historic truth that socialism and peace belong together. We need peace to strengthen socialism, and peace needs a strong socialism. Not last from historic lessons, our youth has learned: As long as war-mongers jeopardize the peace, peace must be armed. Without a strong armed Soviet Union peace would long have been lost. Socialism under arms is as necessary as our bread, as long as the others threaten us with their ominous weapons. Because we and our children want to live.

## Encouraging All Individual Talents and Abilities

Strengthening socialism under the more complicated conditions of the international class struggle and thereby effectively helping to make peace secure, and establishing the preconditions for carrying on the proven course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy in our country--all that makes the highest demands on the work in all domains of public life and extracts the greatest efforts from every individual. We are engaged in a big political battle today in the world and especially also here in our GDR, on the dividing line between socialism and imperialism in the heart of Europe, for the continued consolidation of socialism and the preservation of peace, on behalf and for the benefit of our peoples.

The third central committee plenum guideline on improving the quality and effectiveness of our own work and enhancing the political responsibility of each individual to all society while tapping all reserves to make the fullest use of all available possibilities is a demand that also addresses us. To the further development of mass consciousness and creativity and the development of needs for a substantive intellectual and cultured life of the people, our educational system can and must make an active contribution.

Not last by what is done for the children, people measure the solicitude of the party and the state for the family. Whatever we pedagogues do well here strengthens the people's trust in our state, as this, after all, deeply affects the thinking, attitude and conduct of mothers and fathers, of millions of citizens in our republic. Everyday again therefore we have to see to it through our work in the schools that all the many different tasks related to it are done well.

To form people who stand in life with both legs and take an active part in public affairs through their work for the good of all, bringing up everyone so that his talents can fully unfold, leading all children well through the various developmental phases of their political and psychological growth and maturation, including also the difficult phases encountered in childhood and youth, therein lies the task and objective of all our training and education effort. To put it briefly, what is important in the final analysis is that the whole teaching collective of a school, headed by the director, will do everything it can over 10 years--because for 10 years the school takes care of the children--so that every graduating class is a good one and the pupils get a good start in life. Our daily work has to be gaged against how well we succeed in doing this. And each individual must ask himself time and again: What is my share in it, what can and must my share be in it?

Abilities of youngsters will always be unevenly developed. But what must always again motivate each pedagogue, each director, each collective of pedagogues is whether we optimally develop the talents of each pupil. Anyone who as a pedagogue or director stops asking that question will tolerate mediocrity and deadening routine. Acknowledging Marxist-Leninist pedagogics, being a teacher at a socialist school, first and foremost means feeling responsible for shaping the personality of each pupil and for the development of his individual talents and abilities.

Our politically committed teachers, equipped with solid scientific training in their field and in the basics of Marxism-Leninism, and with solid knowledge and skills in pedagogics and methods, demand a great deal of themselves and time and again provide evidence for what they can do and are willing to do. So it is only natural that such teachers expect and demand to be taken seriously and be drawn into solving the tasks, that those who demand much of themselves also are critical toward inadequacies and shortcomings.

This spirit of pushing forward and seeking the right ways, asking oneself: how do I get at the mind and sentiment of the children in my charge, how do I teach them how to study, how can I best instruct them in all matters of life, in not tolerating deficiencies, and in creative search and striving--this is of course unevenly pronounced in different people. Yet such a spirit, such an atmosphere is needed in every school. Without it, there is no fruitful pedagogical work. That also is tantamount to the question of the criteria a director uses for his ratings. Is he thoroughly familiar with each and every pedagogue? Is his assessment of performance and endeavor shown objectively based on high requirements? Does he know the conditions under which his teachers work? Does he know whether they are successful or sometimes also fail in their efforts? And he must also be cognizant of their personal problems and anxieties.

Deeply implanted in the consciousness of each teacher, each collective, each director must be the thought that we run a school that takes care of the children from 6 years of age, when they are still little, to the age of 16, when they are turning into adults. In these 10 years penetrating developments take place that are of great importance for the rest of the young people's lives. This is precisely that period in life when a person acquires the basics in the sciences, when abilities and skills form, when the ideological, moral and political countenance takes on shape, convictions, ideals and attitudes are formed and sentiments, volition and character are molded. In this period of life a young person becomes more and more aware of himself and of his place in the collective and as part of society. And while they so develop, the young people find themselves constantly confronted with their environment.

The mission of the Eighth Pedagogical Congress, to pay still closer attention to the adolescents' course of development in all pedagogical work at school, has induced many pedagogues' collectives to engage in further deliberations, especially about what is to be done so that each pupil gets the encouragement his talents and age call for and each will find his proper place in life. This is a task faced by each teacher and each pedagogues' collective; it is likely to be the toughest one for which a director must provide political and pedagogical guidance.

There is an uneven development of the adolescents due to the various influences affecting each child in the 10 school years. The forming and shaping of young personalities, as we all know, take place under the influence of the total social environment in which they grow up, the life at home, at school, in the socialist childrens' and youth organization, the leisure-time activities, the association with friends, and the influence of the given circumstances of life and the style of life in their immediate surroundings. Most strikingly, and

validly for today, Makarenko has said: "Education is a social process in the broadest sense of the word. All is part of education: men, things, phenomena, but men first and foremost. The parents and pedagogues among them primarily. A child enters infinitely many relationships with the whole, extremely complicated, world of reality all around. Each of these relationships keeps developing incessantly, intertwines with other relationships and becomes still more intricate while the child grows physically and morally. To guide and direct this development is the job of the educator."\*

The success of pedagogical work crucially depends on how familiar the teacher is with the children and takes that into consideration in instruction and in all the educational work. It is the pedagogue's job to help the adolescent in coping with the complicated processes of his personality development. Each who works with children and adolescents must seek to fulfil this pedagogical demand. But is it now so that we approach our pedagogical work everywhere by asking ourselves which talents and individual traits in the children and adolescents still should have to be aroused, which strings, as it were, we could and should still make resonate?

Granted, it calls for much pedagogical knowledge and skill to ascertain how any given pupil develops--since that does not run in a straight line. To spot his individual specifics, to find the developmental prospects assigned to him and, not last, find out to what extent he will be capable of satisfying the demands placed on him, all that precisely is what requires socialist pedagogics.

It is easy enough to say that socialism needs and realizes the all-round developed socialist personality. But this involves extremely complicated processes. The better we understand that personality development takes place through a multi-layered process of dialectical interactions between society and the individual, the more soundly and scientifically can we affect the personality formation by education. The further perfecting of socialist society necessitates and demands that all its members' individuality be shaped in all its variety. Practically speaking, the question simply is this: How can we agree still more thoroughly on using all opportunities through instruction and education for optimally furthering each adolescent and stimulating his development. Never to lose sight of any one pupil and to work with all children in class, to challenge also the reticent and inactive children and always face the questions, problems and opinions of inquisitive pupils--even when they are uncomfortable at times--that is what each good teacher demands of himself today, and we must help in every teacher's being able to cope with it better and better.

#### Our Polytechnical Secondary School--A Training Institution of New Quality

Our school is not just some sort of secondary school but an educational institution of an entirely new quality. It is a general education polytechnical secondary school where theory and practice, studying, working and taking part in the political struggle come together in organic unity, where youth is taught in all matters. The more aware we are of the fact that we have a school which

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\*A. S. Makarenko, "Werke" (Works), Vol IV, VEB Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 22 f.

closely combines instruction with production and of how far-reaching an importance this is for the personality development of youth, and the more extensively we use in our pedagogical work all the opportunities arising therefrom for the acquisition of extensive knowledge, its practical application, and for instilling traits of character, the better we will succeed in laying the foundations for the all-round development of the children and adolescents.

While they go to school already, young people learn discipline, diligent and accurate working habits and are taught and learn to have respect for work. By taking part in material production, our pupils get involved in decisive public affairs.

Learning to do proper work, being able to acquire basic knowledge, abilities and skills in working, knowing why and for what one is producing, learning to stand behind one's own labor product with full responsibility, becoming interested in innovations in the enterprise, considering how things could be improved, learning how to evaluate critical matters critically, and asking oneself what one can do oneself and finding compelling answers for that--all these are matters that must crystallize in the school's educational work.

This type of education was scientifically set down by Marx and Engels who proceeded from an analysis of social developmental conditions, especially of the development of modern industry. Without combining productive work with instruction and gymnastics, they showed, no all-round personality development is possible. This realization is of the greatest importance for education under the conditions of the developed socialist society, which aims at forming communist personalities, and for a socialist industrial country like our GDR, for training highly qualified socialist technicians, specialists, engineers, and new generations of working people. That demands that we all engage in still more deliberations on how the effects of such close production-related education can be extended with still greater success.

Many progressive pedagogues of the past gave much thought to such a school that connects with life, to a harmoniously balanced shaping of minds, hearts and hands. The ideas of Komensky, Pestalozzi, and Diesterweg reflect that as much as the endeavors by progressive forces in the German teachers association movement.

In preparation for the Great Socialist October Revolution, as one knows, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya thoroughly concerned herself with the pedagogic trends in imperialist Germany. Looking at the tempestuous development of industry and technology and of the productive forces in the phase of transition of capitalism in Germany into its monopolistic stage around the turn of the 20th century, she saw as an exceedingly relevant question for the future organization of the educational system the development of the work-school idea, as promoted by Kerschensteiner and others who had criticized popular education as irrelevant to life, largely controlled by religious dogmas and aimed at merely formal elementary knowledge. Krupskaya also saw the limitations of these endeavors, which came down to training, at the expense of universality in the development of the adolescents and the forming of their individuality, a breed of workers who could, to be sure, cope with the tasks given by industrial development but ultimately had the purpose to accommodate the school to the interests of capitalist society.



All the more highly Krupskaya rated the German teachers assembly of 1912 in Berlin that took issue with the concept of one-sided mechanics training and advocated a work-school that would undertake a general education for the children devoted to the broadening of their vision. Picking up the rational core of those ideas, Krupskaya found it auspicious for bringing to realization the very concept Marx had scientifically established half a century before for general education and always pointed out in her work on polytechnic, with reference to Marx, Engels and Lenin, that such a work-school of general-education and polytechnical character was not feasible under the conditions of capitalist society.

Nonetheless she regarded the work-school movement of progressive German teachers as a pioneering feat for the development of a new type of school, a school in which productive activity combined with intellectual education serves the personality development. In her article, "The Question of the Work-School at the German Teachers Assembly in Berlin,"\* Krupskaya wrote that 124,000 German teachers based their work more or less on that idea and that the thoughts of the best ones among them would continue in that direction, not merely with respect to an elitist school for a few hundred children from the propertied class but in the development of grammar school. "Indeed, a step forward has been taken," Krupskaya wrote, "the child-age personality assumes its rights!"\*\*

Under the conditions of the workers and farmers power, this hope of the best German teachers was fulfilled. In a socialist Germany, our GDR, such a school was established, the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin have been fulfilled, and the progressive German pedagogic legacy and the theoretical and practical experiences of the Soviet school, having been the first one to close the gap between school and life, found their fruitful crystallization.

With our general-education polytechnical secondary school we have created a school that forms men in the all-inclusive sense. It shapes the mind and body of the adolescents, their sentiments, feelings and character, their world-outlook and their ethical conduct. So it brings up people who are all set for life, work, and sharing the struggle for the happiness of men.

Forming people includes an introduction to the natural and social sciences as much as familiarization with world literature and art, with Goethe and Schiller, Duerer, Bach and Beethoven, and also something else that no bourgeois humanistic education was able to do previously: it teaches youth the universal ideas produced by Marx, Engels and Lenin and includes in education the class struggle of the workers class having for its object the supreme humanistic concern--the liberation of mankind from the scourge of war, exploitation, hunger and oppression. All that is included in our educational ideal which tends toward communism. In our socialist school we are about to bring to realization the communist educational ideal elaborated by Marx and Engels step by step as our age permits, which is richer and more inclusive than even the best bourgeois thinkers were able to describe.

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\*Cf. Nadezhda Konstantinova Krupskaya, "Sozialistische Paedagogik," Vol I, VEB Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin ,972, pp 220 ff.

\*\*Ibid., p 230.

In the capitalist countries, by contrast, in consequence of the crisis, the creeping misery of the bourgeois educational system, of the bourgeois school, is becoming most evident. That is expressed by the dropping educational level of the children of the people and by that the school, as is the case in the FRG, is being made serviceable to instilling nationalism, revanchism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. No wonder then that bourgeois ideologues are eagerly trying to cover up the decline of the bourgeois school. To deflect from clear demands for better educational opportunities, they are talking about "education in human quality." It would be sheer hypocrisy to make believe the school for the children of the working people in the capitalist countries could become a "humane" school and that a "humanization" of education is possible there. Bourgeois grade school cannot and will not face such a task, even though progressive teachers may advocate such ideas. What it comes right down to is to disguise the devaluation of general education, the constantly dropping educational level, the deepening contradictions between the education for working class children and elitist education.

With all that, they are addressing the socialist school with their recommendations. For that, they are using, as they always have, the whole arsenal of revisionism. There they postulate once again, for instance, while misusing progressive concepts, so-called theories of a "pedagogics for rediscovering man and the child," of a "humanization" of pedagogics, of a "humanization" of culture and education, of a "humane" school and so forth. And what is all this fuss about? What the revisionists of all shades are concerned with is to cast aspersion on the values of real socialism, which irrevocably includes our socialist educational system, and to promote ways to abandon these accomplishments.

What is one to make of such a slogan as "More education through less study"? No pedagogics that deserves to be taken seriously can deny the inseparable connection between culture and systematic study, between education and science. But it does not amount at all to pedagogics to be taken seriously. All it amounts to, plainly, is revisionist attacks against the conception of the socialist school's scientific general education depending on the unity between science and ideology. Disparaging the role of acquiring exact knowledge ultimately aims at the deideologization of education. By the motto of "more education" they are pleading for an education that is indifferent to class distinctions. Many look at the socialist school's educational conception from the position of bourgeois secondary education and they may, against their better knowledge, intimate it is one-sided in its focusing on the natural sciences, by which they then ignore the fact that even Goethe and Humboldt considered natural science education as indispensable education, let alone that the socialist school is the first grammar school providing all children with literature, foreign languages, art and music at an extent and quality reserved previously for those who could afford such education.

The new teachers who took over classes as workers or working persons of other occupations, to assist in the revolutionary transformation of the educational system, may have known less about ancient history, mythology, literature or the history of religion than some of those whom they replaced. However, they showed more culture in comprehending the question what knowledge was necessary.



The breakthrough they accomplished was to make our youth comprehend the historic mission of the workers class. They made the start in forming a new generation of teachers and a school that knows how to handle the legacy of classical literature, the heritage of the history of mankind, and the problems of the present and future of mankind with a great sense of responsibility. Public facts are irrefutable: While in our socialist society all young people can acquire a comprehensive education aimed at the requirements of life and find their place at work and in life, capitalism is less able than ever to provide the mass of young people either with a good education or with prospects for living. And precisely that is what bugs the bourgeois ideologues. They are terrified that one day these real values of socialism might also become the demands of the people's masses in the capitalist countries.

#### Enhancing the Quality and Effectiveness of Pedagogic Work

Now we face the question how what has been created, the new opportunities and conditions handed over to us are used for realizing the objectively needed performance growth, to be shouldered also by the school as far as the quality of its substantive and methodological work is concerned. Enhancing further the quality and effectiveness of pedagogic work calls for carrying on consistently with our work. But here we must keep in mind that continuity always contains an instance of new qualitative demands. Continuity means carrying on with everything that has proven itself while looking at new qualitative requirements. We have to manage, as it were, using the differential between achievement and potential still more as an impulse for further advances by our school. With that in mind, we wish to raise some questions that have to be of concern to us all.

Every pedagogue knows of course the differences in instruction and educational work and the demands made on him when he deals with children of 6 or 7 years of age or deals with adolescents between 10 and 11 or between 15 and 16. To keep that in mind every day in practice is something everyone seeks to do--with success, too, as shown by the children's development. But should we not have to pay still more attention to age-specific work? Aren't there teachers whose difficulties often are caused by not paying enough attention to the developmental processes physiological and psychological in kind of the adolescents and to the social influences that permanently or temporarily affect a child or adolescent? Are there not reserves left unused for a more development-oriented organization of the pedagogic process in the various age-groups?

We must constantly see to it that the work in the lower grades develops well. What we have success with here, in the transition from preschool to school-age, creates and reinforces the foundations for successful development throughout all schooling thereafter; what we fail to do is hard to catch up with.

In making higher demands today on education and training in the lower grades, we may rely on the fact that we have new and greatly perfected conditions for taking care of it. By putting into effect the educational policy task to put all children between 3 and 6 years of age, if the parents are for it, into a kindergarten, to take care of them and purposefully prepare them for school there, we have a much higher starting level for our beginners in school today.

By dint of the work done according to plan in preschool education, children start school with much greater knowledge and intellectual capabilities. Furthermore, because of the extensive development of nursery vacancies, materially as well as in terms of personnel, there now exists the objective possibility for all children in the lower grades to go through a systematic education and training process all day long. This gives us a qualitatively completely new pedagogic situation in directing personality development for the children in the lower grades. Now we are intent on a systematic organization of a uniform education and training process throughout the whole day, and this for children between first and fourth grade.

By expanding and deepening general education in the middle grades, the youngsters between 10 and 13 years of age acquire specialized systematic scientific basics on nature and society. That comes connected with new and steadily rising demands made on their mental facilities and on disciplined and independent study. On the quality in which instruction is given there depend the open-mindedness to and interest in the subject and hence, often, the further development of a pupil in a given field. They do not normally know their home-room and specialist teachers. But how will a teacher in a specialty deal with that? And how will he deal with that at that age relatively firm attitudes and modes of conduct form and that the children's relations--those of the organized ones as well as of the ones that are not organized--increase in variety? Everyone who teaches on this level knows that children at this age normally are very active and eager and have an especially strong urge to do things, that interests and needs become differentiated and the pupils more and more pursue them on their own. The pupils' individuality and inclinations become more pronounced. Evidently we have to examine more thoroughly whether in our political and pedagogic work adequate account is taken of the specifics in this age-group.

We also--and this is something the parents keep pointing out to us--have to give more thought to how we can better direct the leisure-time activities of middle-grade pupils and further develop their need for meaningful activity. If not enough independence was developed in the nursery and the children have not been accustomed to do something meaningful on their own, they often do not know what to do with their leisure. That is one side of it. The other side is how we can create conditions for the children to keep busy in their collectives, their pioneer groups, their working teams, their club afternoons, in the various fields. Our home-room teachers and specialists spend much time working with the pioneers. But is there not perhaps a lack of substantive variety? Should we not pay more attention to give more room to the urge for independence and responsibility? Nothing could be more unsuitable for pupils in this age-group and evokes more opposition from them than being condemned to be passive.

Having established the 10-grade general-education polytechnical secondary school, we have come to face the completely new kind of problem to have to work not only with selected pupils but with all pupils between 14 and 16, who still a few years ago mostly started working at that age or went into vocational training.

Youngsters between 14 and 16, maturing politically and intellectually, and gaining experiences, are apt to have pronounced attitudes and habits of life and political positions. There is a greater need to deal more intensively with political and ideological issues. Mental capabilities, interests and needs expand and stabilize. At that age, relationships with contemporaries play a great role, and what the collective says often is of greater weight than what the adults have to say. That may have positive as well as negative effects. There are striking differences in physical development. Boys and girls at that age already face decisions of great import for their lives. They are recognized as citizens and get their ID cards. They become members of the political youth organization and assume responsible functions. They take the youth consecration oath. They face the serious problem of choosing an occupation. All these are important personal decisions. Aware of their responsibility, the teachers together with the parents guide the pupils in their decisions, help them to find the right decision. But should we not ask ourselves whether all teachers in the ways and means with which they work with this age-group, always adequately consider that these are young people about to become adults, who indeed still need pedagogic guidance, education and authority, but who yet have to be approached with seriousness and trust and a high demand on their performance and conduct, and who are to be challenged resolutely? Their future occupation demands creativeness of them as well as discipline. The boys prepare for military service. All that demands a high measure of awareness, strength of will and resolve of them. And do we sufficiently respect that these young people must come to grips with many things in life, with the question about the meaning of life and their demands for happiness, that they want to take care of many things themselves and accomplish doing that, but still do not yet cope properly with many things in life, be it problems of ideology or problems with falling in love for the first time.

Seeing in a youngster not only a pupil but a whole young person and considering everything that rushes in on him and stirs him, is something not every pedagogic teaching on this level succeeds in doing. More still we have to help here in relying, particularly, on cooperation with our FDJ and the parents and on colleagues and comrades in the enterprises in which these young people already feel at home. What is important to the young people and is to be taken seriously by them must also be taken seriously by us. How great the demands are that a teacher has to make on himself who works with those who now enter adulthood! One must have comprehensive knowledge and keep up with one's science; the pupils, after all, are interested in all innovations. One has to know how things are going in politics and be able to convince by means of the better arguments. One must know what is happening in our republic and in the world and take a position on it. One must acquire respect through knowledge, attitude, consistency and empathy. And one has to show sensitivity because at this age girls and boys are sensitive and easily hurt.

Working in the upper grades calls for great human maturity. No teacher gets that in his cradle; he must work for it, educate himself. In many a conference one should not flog all those dead horses; our directors should see to that. Rather, teachers should get the chance to confer with one another in most concrete terms about the pedagogic problems that concern them, and they should jointly consider what must be done to cope with certain educational situations.

## Decisive for a Pedagogues' Collective Is to Act in Unison

The school, as one knows, is not merely a sum total of pupils, teachers, and grades, but a social organism of collective and individual relations among the teachers and students, and between teachers and students, an organism in which life goes on in accordance with certain rules, norms, or "laws" that conform with the nature of our socialist society, an organism connected with the environment by many threads--with political events, with the living and development processes of socialist society on the whole and in parts, all the way down to the domains of individual life. All that affects a school collective. It demands of the director to look beyond the exigencies of the day and have foresight; indeed, it may be said that a director in many ways has to consider an entire generation of pupils.

What norms are in force in the collective, what criteria apply in the everyday life at school, in the relations among the pupils, among the teachers, and between pupils and teachers, and what degree of organization and political maturity has been attained by the school collective--all that affects our education. And how it does it depends largely on the art of directing a school.

Working in such a way that each pedagogue identifies with the growing public demands made on the school, and making them his own personal demands, requires, as every director knows, that he will always again attempt, together with his teachers, to comprehend the tasks of pedagogy within their social contexts.

And this is another one of our general insights: Wherever it has become part of the life of a pedagogues' collective to seek unanimous positions in debate, where one does not evade issue-taking with wrong views and modes of conduct when established demands are violated, and where weaknesses and deficiencies are not covered up, there one will always make headway.

A director must know the strong sides as well as the less developed sides in the work of his teachers, he must in many ways find out how the teacher faces the children as a conveyer of our world-outlook, and which demands he makes on his own work and which he fails to make. Aren't there differences in this regard at every school?

Are we asking these questions frankly, comradely, always with due respect for the work, recognizing every teacher, with sufficient tact but also with the necessary determination every good teacher must muster? May a director or a collective remain unperturbed when one colleague with his best intentions fails to accomplish what another one does manage? How can we help in this? Are all teachers aware that they jointly share in the overall outcome with which we release the pupils into life? And if not, how do we make them aware?

A director's best ideas and plans remain ineffective unless they are the outcome of joint deliberations with the pedagogues. Teachers like their work and feel good at a school and have a great regard for their director where he relies on his teachers and their ideas, takes account of their individual particulars, interests, character traits and their political, professional and life experiences, and knows how to use them correctly and with benefit for the whole school collective. Each director can rely on politically experienced teachers,

on party members, on the socialist youth association, the trade union, a collective that has a high degree of political organization. It surely is not always easy for a director to pay the proper attention to divergencies within his collective resulting from age differences, differences in experiences, the difference of temperaments, the high proportion of women, or the duration of membership in the collective. Yet such variety also is of advantage to the development of the whole collective. Unanimous political and moral value concepts and diversified scientific and cultural interests, the enthusiasm of one person, the quiet and mental equilibrium of another, and the sharing in the personal happiness and the problems of an individual add up to the richness of a collective of pedagogues. Sometimes they only find together after laborious trying and positions have to be reexamined and--if necessary--even revised. Being a fine collective does not mean, after all, that everything goes smoothly and without conflict, that one remains uncritical toward wrong conceptions and acts. What a school accomplishes in the final analysis depends on how a teachers' collective keeps restructuring itself and on that everybody contributes the best he has. Indeed, also the mood in a collective, whether it is optimistic and pushing ahead, directly or indirectly also affects the children or adolescents. One's own performance and attitude, civilized conduct, comradely relations, consistency and friendliness within the pedagogues' collective, all that affects the children. The experiences, style and manner of behavior of his school period crucially affect the adolescent's mode of life.

Haste, uneasiness and perfunctoriness make for too poor a soil on which educational work can thrive. We must always proceed from the consideration that everything at school has an educational influence and that it depends on the purposeful and circumspect leadership of a director for a fine and socialist educational atmosphere to prevail at school. Our socialist society offers favorable preconditions and conditions for a director's doing a fine job. A management style has ever more strongly developed among directors that is marked by strict individual direction and relies on the broadest democratic participation by the teachers, the pupils, the enterprises and, above all, the sponsorship brigades and the parents.

While we were preparing our conference, we have once again found confirmed that we have all the opportunities to take care of the tasks assigned to the school for the communist education of youth at a high quality.

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CSO: 2300/412

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HISTORICAL, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES SEEN AFFECTING SOCIALIST INFRASTRUCTURE

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 109, 21 Jul 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Sees 'Contradictions' in Development of Socialist States--Advice for the 'Fraternal Parties.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1982) has now underscored that the solution, particularly, of the complicated economic problems of the socialist states was placing "highest demands on the management activity of each fraternal party." On more skillful overall management activity in the communist parties also depended "greatly the avoidance of political errors." Because, as events in Poland had shown, when the "subversive activities of imperialism" were aggravated by errors and miscalculations, "it paved the way for activating antisocialist forces." In this connection EINHEIT praised the SED's economic strategy announced by Erich Honecker at the 10th party congress "which essentially represents a sound scientific program for the intensification of the economic reproduction process."

Also for the future the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT expects "contradictions" in the development of socialism and the cooperation among the socialist states. EINHEIT says: "Previous ideas of a totally harmonious and relatively unproblematic development of the socialist countries and their community partly ignored the various starting conditions under which the different countries entered the path of socialist construction, and that since 1917 each step of socialism has led through virgin territory, that new experiences were gathered constantly, practically reexamined in the public life of the various countries, were applied or had to be discounted at times, too." The "subjective factor" also should not be ignored. So the cooperation of the socialist countries was proceeding "also in a step-by-step process of overcoming features of the heritage from previous decades and centuries that cannot stand up to the new." Nothing was "automatic or self-sustaining," therefore, in the rapprochement among the socialist states. The most compelling effects came "from the practical example, one's own experience, and well organized and functioning co-operation of benefit to all fraternal countries."

### SED Functionary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 736-745

['Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Bruno Mahlow, political scientist, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "The Socialist Community in the 1980's--Achievements, Problems, Prospects"]

[Text] How do the fraternal countries of the socialist community adapt themselves to the significant tasks in the battle for peace and social progress in the struggle for strengthening their economic potential, their international influence and their power of attraction in the 1980's? From which positions can they take off, and what are the conclusions for their social development and cooperation?

With the 1980's, mankind entered a significant phase of its history. The struggle for socialism and peace, for the peoples' national and social liberation, for national independence, and against imperialism, reached a new stage. The main contradiction of our era, that between socialism and imperialism, has greatly intensified.

The USSR and the other countries in the socialist community, the chief force of peace and social progress, have engaged in higher qualitative tasks in their social development and international cooperation. They must cope with these tasks at a time of extremely intensified international class conflict with imperialism. Their economic, political and military strength is of crucial importance for the destiny of humanity and today, mainly, for safeguarding the highest good of humanity, peace.

The imperialist states experience an enormous intensification of all internal and external contradictions of capitalism, which justifies our speaking of a new phase in the general crisis of capitalism. The monopolies cannot tame that crisis. But they are trying, do not want to resign themselves. The most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially the U.S. circles, are escaping into a policy of confrontation and military buildup. As they have always done, they are seeking a way out of the crisis by an escalation of reaction, militarism and arms buildup, the "policy of strength" and increased adventurism. This is a challenge to all mankind.

"In view of the open threat from the gentlemen in the Pentagon with a 'limited' nuclear war, which can in truth not be limited, and in view of the presumption of NATO to decide on its own what detente is and what it is not, our conviction is reinforced that there can be nothing more important than the safeguarding of peace,"<sup>1</sup> Comrade Erich Honecker asserted at the fourth SED Central Committee session. This bestows the highest responsibility on socialism and its strength and ability to make effective its inherent possibilities and sources of growth to a larger extent than ever. For the safeguarding of peace which requires the



cooperation of all anti-war forces and continued social progress crucially depend on the strength of socialism and the policy, initiative and joint efforts of the socialist states. Confirmed is the assessment made by our 10th party congress, that "from our world of socialism, freedom, progress, and human dignity, and from their increase in strength, power and authority, there emanates the decisive influence on the fundamental changes in the life of the people."<sup>2</sup> The responsibility socialism has for the destiny of humanity and the possibilities to contribute to its continuing secured progress have never been greater than they are today. The further consolidation of unity and cohesiveness of the socialist countries and their coordinated actions have an importance here of the first rank.<sup>3</sup>

How do the fraternal countries of the socialist community adapt themselves to these requirements of the 1980's? Which conclusions arise here for their social development and cooperation?

The first point to be made here--and this has been confirmed by the most recent congresses of the friendly parties--is that the countries in the socialist community face a number of joint or similar tasks to be solved simultaneously, with whatever there may be specific about them and with their historic and national differences.<sup>4</sup> That includes: the struggle for the safeguarding of peace, which presupposes an appropriate defense capability as well as the necessary initiative for realizing our coordinated peace program; an accelerated all-round mobilization and utilization of all the advantages of socialism, especially by an extensive intensification of the national economies; and an active continuation of anti-imperialist solidarity with all forces fighting for their national and social liberation.

All this requires that socialism grows stronger faster and that the fraternal countries in the 1980's more extensively combine the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism and thus take a critical step forward toward higher labor productivity. And here one must remember that the emphasis is more and more shifting from quantitative to qualitative factors such as labor productivity and efficiency, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, control over the most up-to-date technologies, output of products on the highest scientific-technical level, and the most efficient use of the resources.

It is becoming more true than ever that economic policy is the centerpiece of the management activity by the fraternal parties in our community. Its results are crucial to the confrontation with the capitalist world in all domains of public life.

The countries in the socialist community face the challenge of the 1980's with sobriety and optimism. In this they can rely on the firm foundation created in past decades, especially in the 1970's.

The 1970's were marked by significant successes in the struggle by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries for further developing the socialist social system and unfolding its potentials and advantages. The states in the socialist community on the whole achieved their thus far most important advances in strengthening their economic potential, gathering experiences in economic



management and planning, organizing their cooperation, and coordinating their foreign policy. The working people's standard of living rose significantly. Socialism, as Comrade Erich Honecker remarked at the SED Central Committee secretariat conference with the kreis first secretaries on 12 February 1982, has during the historically brief period since the October Revolution "done incomparably more, despite all resistance and difficulties, for the interests of men, for peace, work and sustenance, education and culture, and the right to freedom, democracy and humanism, than all previous social orders put together."

#### Basic Issues in Further Social Development

Of outstanding importance for the further forward march of socialism is the fact that the fraternal parties in the community of socialist states worked out the principles for the conception of developed socialism in the 1970's. They thereby have a reliable basis for long-term strategy and tactics. This conception has made possible thoroughly to grasp the dialectics in communist socioeconomic development, to give precise ideas of the duration of the socialist phase of the new society, and clearer ideas and a more purposeful use of the by no means exhausted possibilities of progress within that scope.

At the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev defined developed socialism as a "necessary, inevitable and historically long period in the development of communist society."<sup>5</sup> The SED Program defines the shaping of the developed socialist society as "a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."<sup>6</sup> The shaping and perfecting of developed socialism turns out to be by no means less complicated, and no less responsible a task, than laying the foundations of socialism.

In elaborating the conception of developed socialism, the fraternal parties could resort to the ingenious foresight of Lenin, who spoke of it as a mature society in which all sides are equally developed and are found in complex interactions with one another. This involves, e.g., the relation between productive forces and production relations, between the base and the superstructure, between politics and economics, between centralism and democracy, between social, collective and personal interests, and between the material living conditions and men's state of consciousness. The fraternal countries have demonstrated in practice that for the construction of the developed socialist society a complex approach to all socialist relations is indispensable, which also includes surmounting disproportions that have arisen in social development thus far due to given concrete-historic conditions.

The construction or perfecting of the developed socialist society--the fraternal parties let themselves be guided by this--is a profoundly dynamic process of social transformation which makes growing demands on the Marxist-Leninist parties' leadership activity. The social sciences in the socialist countries face great tasks in more deeply and scientifically penetrating the main strategic directions pointed out by the fraternal parties, more clearly demonstrating the connection between current tasks and long-range objectives, determining possibilities and reserves, and finding ways to overcome difficulties. In this too, Soviet science is doing pioneering work.

The intensification of the national economy is the main link in the chain right now in the construction and perfecting of the developed socialist society, as the fraternal parties conceive of it according to their resolutions at their most recent party congresses. Being the type of economic growth that conforms to developed socialism, the intensively expanded reproduction is based on a rigorous mobilization of the qualitative growth factors. It aims at an accelerated increase of labor productivity, an improved cost/benefit ratio, and thus a better end product without any essential increase in material and labor resources. High demands arise from the rapid development of the productive forces, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and a rapid application of its data in production, which must be met by management and planning.

A factor not to be underestimated lies in the greater international burdens on the socialist countries resulting from the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation course, its policy of stronger pressure in the economy and in trade, and from the need to assist economically still weakly developed socialist countries and states in Africa and Asia that have opted for the socialist way of development. Foreign economy conditions have changed and have become more complicated in many respects.

Turning to intensification demands of the fraternal countries primarily to work out and enforce an economic strategy that conforms to the new conditions and tasks and the developmental stage of a given country. The 10th SED Congress confirmed the 10 key points of our party's economic strategy, as presented by Comrade Erich Honecker, constituting, essentially, a sound scientific program for the intensification of the economic reproduction process.

The all-inclusive transition to intensification in the broadest sense of the word is not merely an economic or technological matter. It mainly calls for greater skills in all the parties' management activity, in the management and planning of the economy and in structural policy, and it necessitates fundamental changes in the training and ideological position of the cadres and in the thinking and conduct of men. Economic conversion to intensification, as Comrade Tikhonov declared at the 26th CPSU Congress, can in terms of its historic significance and its historic criteria and effects rightly be equated with so decisive a transformation as socialist industrialization.

This process raises many new questions. It includes the control of the whole uniform complex of economics, politics and ideology, and the concrete shaping of the connection between economic and social policy. It pertains to the ratio between accumulation and consumption in line with the requirements and possibilities in any given country, and to a greater equilibrium in the whole economic development. The connection between labor, output and distribution must be made clearer and more intelligible to the working people, and the performance principle, which is one of the great advantages of socialism, must be enforced more consistently and with more discrimination. It also means using the impulses of socialism still better and establishing a closer connection of the material with the ideational and ethical incentives. Finally, there is a need of the first rank to improve socialist agriculture further so as to grant imperialism no aggressive opportunities in using the grain problem as a strategic weapon in the international class conflict. These are all questions that are not simple to resolve. The consistent transition to an intensively expanded reproduction is a process calling for creative search, and in which the socialist countries learn from one another.

Using still more effectively the totality of the experiences gained by the countries in our community in socialist construction--that is a task that arises primarily from the requirements for the further advances of the socialist countries but which at the same time also results from developments in the international arena and the intensified struggle between socialism and imperialism, including the massive attempts at weakening the socialist community of states. The socialist countries' collective store of experiences, the great importance of which was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, is made up of the experiences gathered in the development of all the countries in our community, in that never in any one country the concrete steps taken by other socialist countries were mechanically repeated. More typical rather is the great variety in the ways and forms of transition to socialism and the further shaping of it. Therefore, in the 1980's the socialist community, along with the rich experiences of the Soviet Union performing its pioneering efforts, has available the rich store of experiences in socialist construction in the fraternally allied countries. And the point has to be made here that with each further advance over the tracks of socialism the contribution each socialist country makes to the treasure of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice concerning socialist construction assumes more and more weight. There are various ways to use this treasure of experiences, the need for which was underscored by Comrade Nikolai Tikhonov at the most recent CEMA conference in Budapest when he mentioned the fine experiences the GDR and Hungary have had with production increases while reducing energy consumption. Thus the fraternal parties study each other's experiences and absorb them creatively with an eye to any given national conditions. And then there has in fact formed a mechanism for a collective elaboration of solutions which relies on the common features in the socioeconomic and political systems, on the similarity of the tasks in the domestic social development of any given socialist countries, and on the identity of foreign policy goals.

While the transition to intensification is, essentially, to be made by most countries in the socialist community simultaneously, in concrete terms differences doubtless occur. That expresses the continued effects of national particulars and the concrete historic conditions under which the new society in the socialist country ripens. They represent the conditions for the concrete effects and applications of the general inevitabilities in socialist construction and are thus normal and natural phenomena in the socialist development process. Thereby the highest demands are placed on the leadership activity of each fraternal party on which greatly depends the successful coping with tasks, realistic objectives and the relationship of trust between the party and the people as well as the avoidance of political errors. Because, as events in the fraternal country of Poland demonstrate, when subversive activities of imperialism are aggravated by domestic policy errors and miscalculations it paves the way for activating antisocialist forces.<sup>8</sup> The fact is that socialism plainly did not fail in Poland, as certain circles in the West love to insinuate, but rather it was insufficient attention to or even an ignoring of the universally valid inevitabilities of socialist construction and, above all, its practical enforcement, that pushed the country into a critical situation instigated by the counterrevolutionary forces.

The states of the socialist community are characterized by a uniform socio-economic and political system in essence and by a variety of ways, forms and methods in the seizure or exercise of power, in economic organization and in making the socialist way of life prevail.

#### Relations Among the Socialist States

At the 10th SED Congress Comrade Erich Honecker stated: "Our socialist community proves itself as that alliance of a completely new type that is based on identical socioeconomic and political principles, on the uniform ideology of Marxism-Leninism, on shared communist goals and interests, and on the international solidarity of the working people."<sup>9</sup>

The objective identities in our alliance give rise to certain basic features in its development--the merging of efforts, the ever closer cooperation in solving the tasks of socialist construction. At the same time, the fact that this is an alliance of sovereign states makes for the special form of the cooperation among these states by coordinating the policy of the various countries on the basis of their common and their specific national interests.

Historically speaking, world socialism is a young, developing organism. Its development proceeds, as that of all social phenomena, through a growth process with its own contradictions. Previous ideas of a totally harmonious and relatively unproblematic development of the socialist countries and their community partly ignored the various starting positions from which the different countries entered the path of socialist construction, and that since 1917 each step of socialism has led through virgin territory, that new experiences were gathered constantly, practically reexamined in the public life of the various countries, were applied or had to be discounted at times, too. Also the existence of imperialism and its impact on the development of the socialist countries always had to be taken into consideration. Nor should the subjective factor be slighted. So the cooperation of the socialist countries also proceeds in a step-by-step process of overcoming features of the heritage from previous decades and centuries that cannot stand up to the new--a process that requires historic time frames.

The countries in the socialist community in their development thus far have produced achievements of principle which today control the nature of their relations, that type of inter-state relations that did not exist yet in history: truly fair, international equitable and fraternal relations. The socialist countries are raising the demands for their cooperation on the basis of what has been achieved thus far. And that includes, indeed, the advances in coordinating the international politics of the countries of the socialist community that inseparably ties in with the positions achieved in the struggle for peace and social progress, as much as the results of their common efforts, mainly in the years since the adoption of the comprehensive socialist economic integration program in 1971.

That program, conceived to run for 15 to 20 years, establishes the goals and methods of principle in cooperation and the basic trends and tasks in its development in the various branches of the national economies. And indeed, the

CEMA countries have found that they have taken care of the comprehensive program with success. There has been a 66-percent increase in the national income of the CEMA countries between 1971 and 1980 and an increase in gross industrial output of 84 percent. The tempo that was thereby accomplished was nearly twice as fast as that of the developed capitalist states. Agricultural output between 1976 and 1980 rose at an average of circa 25 percent over the average between 1966 and 1970.<sup>10</sup>

The further development of cooperation among the fraternal countries was attested to, e.g., by the increase of mutual foreign trade from 33 billion rubles in 1971 to 121 billion in 1980, i.e. a threefold increase. In 1981 the share of CEMA country trade rose to nearly 55 percent of their entire foreign trade. It satisfied the largest part of the fraternal countries' import needs for machinery and equipment, petroleum, iron ore and consumer goods.<sup>11</sup> Here the Soviet Union's raw material deliveries to the socialist countries, with prices remaining below world market prices, are of special importance. As to the Soviet Union, it received 40 percent of the new ships put into service, 35 percent of the new railroad cars, 12 percent of the busses and up to 15 percent of important retail trade consumer goods from the CEMA countries.<sup>12</sup> An especially important result has been the import-export increase from production specialization and cooperation contracts because it attests to the advances in this important trend of cooperation. Those shipments, e.g., rose for machine construction items from R 1.3 billion in 1971 to R 9.1 billion in 1980. Their share in the total CEMA-country import-export of machinery and equipment thereby came to 34 percent.<sup>13</sup> Grown also has the scientific-technical potential of the countries of the socialist community.

Quantitatively also the CEMA countries grew stronger in the 1970's. Socialist Cuba and Vietnam became new members. Yugoslavia is actively working together with CEMA in 23 fields. The volume of its trade with CEMA rose to 5.5 times in 1980 of what it had been in 1970 and keeps rising.<sup>14</sup> Laos, Angola, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Mozambique and Ethiopia were granted observer status. As previously with Finland, CEMA now concluded economic cooperation treaties with Mexico and Iraq. The international socialist economic organization maintains relations with more than 60 international organizations.

The factors referred to prove that the comprehensive socialist economic integration program has passed its practical test as the fraternal countries' long-term economic cooperation strategy. It remains in full force.

The CEMA countries' developed economic relations with capitalist industrial countries based on reciprocal advantage remain an important component of their policy. They greatly contribute to materially ensuring the peace, detente and cooperation course the socialist countries advocate. CEMA-EC import-export rose to 3.8 times as much in 1979 of what it was in 1970.<sup>15</sup> But new conditions have arisen in recent years. The situation has greatly deteriorated because of the crisis manifestations in the capitalist world, especially by the confrontation and arms-buildup course of the most aggressive imperialist forces, which includes boycott, blockade and blackmail. That makes it all the more necessary, to gain and stabilize firm positions on the capitalist markets, to raise the proportion of high-grade products producing hard currency and always to see to it that no risky dependencies arise from economic relations with the capitalist states.

## Joint Strategic Solutions

Solving such basic strategic problems as the maximum acceleration of scientific-technical progress, energy, raw material and material procurement, or the grain problem call for more and more concerted efforts by the socialist countries. Many basic decisions that are made today in one field or another have effects that range far into the decades ahead and even now presuppose an ever closer correlation and coordination.

The fraternal countries take it for granted that an optimum development of their cooperation requires taking the interests of all partner countries into account. An increasing weight attaches to these interests (e.g. in prices, tariffs, mutual deliveries, concluding contracts, sharing planned projects), i.e. the concrete inducement to help solve the concrete issues in economic cooperation. This is a strong incentive for making integration measures more effective for the community and each individual socialist country. A political approach to intricate economic problems is gaining an increasing importance in this process. The fraternal parties' political cooperation makes possible optimum correlation of national interests, awareness for the shared interest and a coordinated approach, and these concerted efforts make possible elaborate and implement ways and means, adequate to socialism, to reconcile specific interests. This problem was referred to by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress when he asserted that the fraternal countries' economic cooperation was not a purely commercial matter and emphasized the great responsibility of the managerial economic cadre and the party functionaries and the need for a deep understanding of what inseparably intertwines the interests of the fraternal countries.

One of the main trends in further perfecting socialist economic integration lies in the specialization and cooperation of production and, while relying on the fine results of the 1970's, the resolute efficiency increase in that effort. "The altered foreign economy and foreign policy conditions, especially the policy of discrimination, restriction and boycott by the imperialists toward our countries," Comrade Willi Stoph observed at the 36th CEMA conference, "motivate us toward still more effective cooperation and a still closer fusion of the scientific-technical and economic potentials existing in our countries."<sup>17</sup> Considering that specialized production thus far pertains, not to a slight degree, to products developed way back, it makes sense that resolute progress calls for tackling projects that depend on most up-to-date scientific-technical solutions and offer fine sales opportunities within and outside of CEMA.<sup>18</sup> Accords in the fields of microprocessing technology and industrial robots, concluded recently at the Budapest CEMA conference,<sup>19</sup> are pointing toward such directions that are so critical under prevailing conditions.

In the foreign trade among the fraternal countries we also must meet new demands in the price structure field. The solid foundation for the fraternal countries' economic development lies in the USSR's extensive raw material and fuel deliveries to the CEMA countries--between 1976 and 1980 circa 370 million tons of petroleum, 88 billion cubic meters of natural gas and 64 billion kilowatt hours of electrical energy.<sup>20</sup> Scientific-technical cooperation, shared investments and other measures likewise keep ensure the CEMA member states with raw materials and fuels.



But there are limits to the Soviet export potential. An outstanding importance in further boosting CEMA trade--based on production specialization and cooperation--attaches to more of an exchange of industrial goods, finished goods as well as components and parts. CEMA's pricing system also must be further improved, mainly with respect to a longer lasting stabilization.

Through perfecting planning activity, above and beyond five-year plan coordination, forms for common planning have been developed that supplement and concretize the comprehensive program. In 1978 and 1979, e.g., five long-range target programs were agreed upon in such important fields as energy, raw materials and fuels, machine building, foodstuffs, industrial consumer goods and transportation, the fulfilment and implementation of which remain important aspects of our cooperation. The joint plan for 1981-1985 integration measures, as ratified by the 35th CEMA conference, contains reciprocal obligations to important cooperation measures, in jointly constructing large projects, specialization and cooperation, the solution of scientific-technical problems, standardization provisions and special measures in support of economic construction in Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia.

The developmental stage of cooperation attained today, as the most recent congresses of the fraternal parties ascertained, places on the agenda the correlation of economic policy above and beyond plan coordination, and the joint generalization of the fraternal countries' experiences in socialist and communist construction. This is not an arbitrary unification of the socialist countries' economic policy. That would be unsuitable and unfeasible because it would ignore what is specific in the various countries. What it is all about, rather, is that in the course of a thorough consultative and coordination activity we confer and agree on matters of long-range socioeconomic goals, the main trends for the modernization of the production structures in the various countries, the distribution of the productive forces, the scientific-technical strategy, an improved coordination in scientific research and, finally, on finding the most efficient forms and methods for improving the national planning and management systems. Most urgent here is coming to terms in areas directly pertinent to CEMA's international economic cooperation.

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The multilayered processes in the development of the community of socialist states confirm that the main trend for the development of the community of socialist states lies in the rapprochement among the fraternal countries in implementing socialist integration, the deepening of political and ideological cooperation, the mutual enrichment of national cultures and the exchange and reciprocal application of experiences. Rapprochement is an inevitable, objective and lengthy process, based on the internationalization of public life proceeding under socialist conditions. It is marked by that in the mutual relations among the socialist countries more and more common elements arise and the developmental levels gradually become more alike. A sober observation of the stage attained shows that the fraternal countries in this area enter virgin territory theoretically as well as practically.

There is a broad field here for the fraternal parties' leadership activity. Its responsibility arises mainly from the fact that there is nothing automatic or self-sustaining in rapprochement, as little as in other social processes. An importance of the first rank here attaches to a scientific penetration of and political coping with the problems and to purposeful political-ideological work in the spirit of unity between proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. The most compelling effects come from the practical example, one's own experience, and well organized and functioning cooperation of benefit to all fraternal countries. The 26th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties have oriented toward such practical steps in rapprochement.

The socialist countries today are entwined by a thick web of relations. The mechanism of this cooperation today includes in particular the meetings on the highest level, the conferences of the Political Consultative Commission, party and government delegations, the system for cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA, the central committee secretariat conferences on international and ideological issues, and on questions of the work done by the party organizations. To an increasing degree this cooperation draws in hundreds of thousands of working people, engineers, specialists, and creators of culture and art. This lends an ever more concrete and direct character to experience exchange and becomes a school offering internationalist education to the working people in our countries.

Practice shows the socialist community of the 1980's is a developing and vital organism. It faces the demands of our time in the certainty that it has what it takes to cope with the new phase of its social development with its propitious prospects and all its problems successfully. Even under intricate international conditions, the fraternal countries are making headway step by step toward strengthening their economic potential, their international influence and their attractiveness. The stakes are high: they concern the preservation of peace for humanity and an ever better and more substantial life for the peoples.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Schlusswort auf der 4. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Concluding Remark at the Fourth SED Central Committee Session), NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 June 1982, p 7.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 18.
3. Cf. "Conference of Central Committee Secretaries of the Communist and Workers Parties in Socialist Countries," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 November 1982, p 2.
4. Cf. Hermann Axen, "Source of Strength and Compass for the Further Advance of the People," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 7, 1981, pp 914 ff.



5. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 107.
6. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
7. Cf. P. Fedose'yev, "Ripe Socialism and the Social Sciences," KOMMUNIST, Moscow, No 16, 1981, pp 42 ff.
8. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., p 14.
9. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 21.
10. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 July 1981, p 6.
11. Ibid.
12. Cf. PRAVDA, Moscow, 3 July 1981, p 4.
13. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 July 1981, p 6.
14. Cf. A. Sokolov, "New Horizons in the Socialist Community," MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA E MEZHDUNARODNYE OTNOSHENIYA, Moscow, No 9, 1981, p 25.
15. Ibid., p 27.
16. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., p 13.
17. Willi Stoph, "CEMA Countries Are Making Cooperation in Science and Production More Efficient," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 June 1982, p 6.
18. Cf. "Socialism: Economic Development and Social Progress," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 5, 1982, pp 657-658.
19. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 June 1982, p 6.
20. Cf. Gerhard Gruener, "Socialist Economic Integration--Advances and Tasks," HORIZONT, No 5, 1982, p 3.

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CSO: 2300/412

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S 'SOCIAL JUSTICE' GAPS ACKNOWLEDGED, JUSTIFIED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 754-760

['Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Erich Buchholz, director, criminal law program, Department of Jurisprudence, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "The Ideal of Justice and Its Realization." For related information see translations of articles published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Existence and Contradictions in Socialist System Acknowledged" (by Prof Peter Kranenpuhl), 80734, 5 May 82, No 2007, pp 22-24; and "SED Sociologist Claims 'Intellectual Work' Insufficiently Rewarded" (interview with Prof Manfred Loetsch), 80936, 28 May 82, No 2017, pp 12-16]

[Text] Abolishing the private ownership in the means of production and exploitation, creating the classless society and creating all those objective prerequisites that give each equal social chances for the development of his personality--that is the only real way to social justice. From that Marxist-Leninist position, the following is examined: What have we accomplished and what is still to be done? What importance attaches to the performance principle and its resolute enforcement? What demands arise from it for management activity in making everybody understand and experience our achievements in social justice?

To experience justice is among mankind's oldest dreams, desires and aspirations and especially of those who were deprived of it, the suppressed and exploited. As the ideal and goal in the struggle for a just social order, it became an important impulse for many revolutionary class battles.

Questions about justice still stir the thoughts and sentiments of many people today: in the capitalist world, because there, in consequence of the capitalist ownership in the means of production, monstrous social injustice reigns between the economic and political powers and the vast majority of the working people; in socialism, because there it is a basic social concern to develop further

the social justice that accords with the first phase of communist society. To create social justice is among the great humanistic ideals of our party work. It has already to a large extent been turned into reality.

### The Only Real Way

By working out the materialistic conception of history and establishing scientific communism, Marx and Engels also pointed to the only real way by which social justice can be brought to realization for all men. To be sure, even long before Marx and Engels there were bold thinkers--Thomas More for instance--who surmised that to attain social justice and equality, private property should have to be abolished.<sup>1</sup> Yet his "Utopia" still, inevitably, lacked the scientific anatomy of capitalism, which is the only way that can point to a real solution. Rousseau too already saw the connection between private property and social inequality: private property was what had caused the difference between poor and rich and social inequality.<sup>2</sup> Prior to Marx and Engels, the utopian communists went farthest in their political and social demands which also called for economic equality and sought a communist society based on public property; in it, socially useful work as the basis for the needed surplus was to be the duty of all members of society (who were able to work).<sup>3</sup>

The great men of the French Enlightenment, to whom the world was to be solely measured by ratiocination, by reason, wanted to replace the injustice and oppression of their time by "eternal justice, equality as given by nature and the inviolable human rights." Yet those ideas were "nothing but the idealistic realm of the bourgeoisie"; it turned out "that eternal justice found its realization in bourgeois justice and that equality came down to bourgeois equality before the law."<sup>4</sup>

Disclosing that, Marx and Engels revealed that these ideas and political demands, including those for justice and equality, can be explained only by the mode of production and its inherent contradictions, and that in practical life justice and equality can be achieved neither through reason and enlightenment nor through god will and moral striving, but only through actual social changes. "That, like any other social advance, becomes feasible not through the insight gained that the existence of classes contradicts justice, equality and so forth, and not through the mere intention to abolish those classes, but through certain new economic conditions."<sup>5</sup> Wherever slogans have been proclaimed about justice and equality without linking them with the practical change of economic conditions, especially with abolishing the private property in the means of production, they at best remained a utopia or an illusion.

Abolishing the private ownership in the means of production and thereby abolishing the exploitation of man by man, the abolition of the classes, that is the only real way, because it is the scientifically established way, to true social justice and equality. That is the substance of the proletarian communist demand for justice and equality.<sup>6</sup>

## What Has Been Done and What Still Must Be Done

That road was taken also by the workers class under Marxist-Leninist party leadership in our republic. It did away with the biggest and decisive social injustice for once and for all: the exploitation of man by man, the possibility "to seize hold of the means of production, the factories, the machines, the real property and so forth, as private property." Because of the public ownership in the means of production, in socialism all citizens have in principle the same relation to them. This crucial social equality, and so also social justice, is by now a reality among us. On this firm socioeconomic basis there are then also many other social accomplishments the citizens of our country take for granted; they express the high degree of realized social justice.

What truly historic achievement is represented by social justice realized among us becomes clear when one more deeply penetrates the facts of our life that go with it. Then one will find that thereby we have successfully solved problems and are solving problems that no previous society could even begin to tackle, and through the mastery over it socialism proves the fairest order of all human history thus far. Socialism during the brief time frame of its historic existence, as Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out recently, has done "incomparably more for the interests of men, for peace, work and subsistence, education and culture, right and freedom, democracy and humanism, than all previous social orders put together."<sup>8</sup>

While the capitalist industrial countries have nearly 30 million unemployed today--10.5 million in the United States alone--in the GDR the right to work has been realized as a basic right guaranteed by the Constitution (Article 24). Thereby alone, as it were, each citizen able to work truly gets the chance materially to insure his life and that of his family and to develop himself as a productive member of society, equally respected as others, as a personality. Closely connected with that accomplishment is our having broken the educational monopoly that in the past gave the members of the exploiter classes the privilege of access to higher and better paid professions, whereby it also significantly ensured their predominance in government. In the GDR all citizens, men of all classes and strata of the people, again according to the Constitution (Article 25), have the guaranteed opportunity to receive the highest education, in accordance with their personal prerequisites and abilities and their diligence and efforts, and to assume important functions in society. The great knowledge the workers class and its allies have in our country plays an important role in the exercise of political power. It is both a condition and an expression of high social justice.

Social justice in real socialism--that is the practical opportunity for each citizen to share the decisions on and actively participate in general affairs, public life, and their country's destinies in politics, the economy and culture through the various forms of socialist democracy.

An importance of the first rank in the realization of social justice attaches to the comprehensive housing construction program aimed at solving the housing problem as a social problem and ensuring for each citizen and each family a homelife of human dignity as an essential aspect of social existence. The socialist state also guarantees its citizens such social rights as that to

recreation, health protection and medical care, old-age material security and sickness and disability insurance. Enormous funds are allocated for all that. These and many other facts in the life of our society illustrate what we mean by justice. It explains that justice implies evaluating men and their work by uniform criteria. But it mainly amounts to granting all people equal and realistic opportunities for developing their productive capabilities, their personality.

As such crucial conditions do not exist in the capitalist world, it amounts indeed to a demagoguery of a special sort that ideological and political advocates of that order now also like to talk about social justice, giving it the emphasis as if the social market economy (meaning the capitalist profit economy) and social justice indissolubly belonged together. The real facts tell us something different.

What sort of social justice is it where millions of unemployed--and the number keeps rising--are prevented from the chance to work, which removes the essential social preconditions for the development of the individual and for being justly treated and evaluated altogether, when the ones concerned are often branded as "failures" or "lazybones"? Is it not extremely unjust when, due to the rising cost of living, the working people's real wages are dropping steadily while the profits the capitalist entrepreneurs are pocketing are going up? The cost of living in the FRG has risen by circa 50 percent within the last 10 years, and it has doubled in the United States, France, and Great Britain. The profits have risen as well; for 50 FRG corporations, e.g., by more than 400 percent in 1980, compared with 1965. And that means, doesn't it, that the poor are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer, and that the chances in life are not equally but most unequally distributed among individuals.

Or how can one talk about social justice when just a few senselessly waste sums of millions while the vast majority has to hustle for them. Let alone that hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries neither have the right to education nor to a democratic participation in the economy or in politics for class or racial reasons.

The implementation of social justice thus is principally a matter of changing the material base, the means of production, the economy and, for that purpose, of the seizure of political power by the workers class. The constitutions of the socialist countries therefore set down not only juridical equality, the equality before the law or, explicitly, the equality of rights and duties, equal entitlements and equal obligations (cf. GDR Constitution Article 20), but they also write into law the socioeconomic foundation of the revolutionary transformation, the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and the creation of the public ownership in the means of production. "What the people's hands create is the people's own," says Article 2 of our Constitution.

Social justice can become reality only if the people, freed from exploitation and suppression, take it into their own hands and themselves create the preconditions for it through diligent labor. Genuine social justice is impossible without a strong material base.

The unity of economic and social policy, resolutely pursued by our party, is therefore a strictly scientific, dialectic-materialistic policy aimed at doing everything for the good of the people, for man. "Industrious, creative work, performance growth and higher economic efficiency" is what is "most important." Because on that, "as one knows, social security and safety depend."<sup>9</sup>

With every step in the shaping of the developed socialist society, e.g. in the implementation of the economic strategy for the 1980's, social justice is further expanded, and still existing essential social disparities are being reduced through steady improvements in working and living conditions through the opportunities and the further molding of the socialist character of labor. Under socialism as the first phase of communist society it is of course not yet possible to eliminate all social differences and establish thereby full social equality and social justice. For this is no question of subjective intent but of the necessary objective prerequisites for it. Overcoming still existing disparities between classes, strata and groups in socialism, between mental and physical work, between town and countryside, requires a lengthy historic time frame. Completely exhausting historic opportunities and the advantages of socialism alone will produce the material and intellectual conditions that will permit us to make the gradual transition to communism, a "classless social order in which," as our Party Program says, "the means of production are uniformly public property and all members of society will be socially equal."<sup>10</sup>

#### The Performance Principle

For more than three decades the citizens of our republic have found out that everything that is produced in socialism will be of benefit to them in one form or another, and that good work pays off, for the individual and for all. This basic identity of interests between the individual and society is brought about and materialized in a special way by means of the performance principle. "We regard the performance principle as a basic principle of economic and public life in the first phase of communist society. There is a profoundly moral substance to this principle. It makes diligent and creative work the centerpiece in the formation of socialist men."<sup>11</sup>

For the first time no longer the privileges of status and origin, capital or wealth, sex and race, nationality and confession or world-outlook decide the respect for and value of man, but his skill, his capabilities, his achievements for the benefit of all. What someone can do counts for the first time, what he accomplishes for society, for other people and, hence, also for himself. For the first time man is thus measured by his own creative deeds, his essential social trait, his creative activity. And so the active, working and creative man becomes the measure of all things and humanism, not only as an ideal but in reality, the controlling principle for interhuman relations.

This humanistic principle focusing on man's performance and capability, on the productive, creative unfolding of his capabilities, will also determine the condition of mature communism--where work will be the foremost vital need and this aspect of the performance principle, the moral orientation to performance, be perfectly and fully developed.

Distribution according to performance, the principle that conforms to the first phase of communist society, is the best and fairest one altogether possible on this level of social development. For not pious wishes decide on the well-being of the people and its culture, on the way of life of society and of the individual, but the developmental level and the quality of social living conditions based thereon do. That implies steady economic growth. Distribution according to performance becomes an incentive for higher performance from which society benefits as well as does the individual. As long as work has not yet become the foremost vital need for all, it is the main way for tying up social and individual interests in such a way that everyone is stimulated, also materially, to do his best. Lenin called attention to that one must not only think of "fair distribution, but rather one must consider that this distribution is a method, a tool, a means to increase production."<sup>12</sup>

So the performance principle, vested in Article 2 section 3 of the GDR Constitution, fulfils its function as an impulse. By distributing according to work performed, the fairest uniform rating measure is applied that is possible altogether--as long as one cannot distribute according to needs--and that is man's productive capability and performance.

Saying this, we do not ignore the fact that this up to now fairest type of distribution also includes some "injustice" that cannot yet be done away with in the first phase of communist society. For indeed "each receives," as Lenin wrote, "the same portion of the social product who has done the same amount of social labor as the others, after the deductions," which Marx mentioned in his "Critique of the Gotha Program." "Yet people are not all the same. One is stronger, one is weaker, one is married, the other one is not; one has more children than someone else, and so forth."<sup>13</sup> Also to eliminate this "injustice" primarily requires a tremendous development of the productive forces, creating the material-technical base of communism, and the highest labor productivity. Yet that can by no means be done by taking down the performance principle but only by completely exhausting all its potentials for material and moral incentives. And that precisely also is the reason why our Party Program focuses on the resolute implementation of the socialist performance principle.

So the performance principle in the first phase of communist society is an important aspect and an expression of the degree of social justice here attained and attainable. It also is an important condition for creating further material possibilities to achieve still greater social justice. This also includes the material potentials in the form of public funds which are gaining increasing importance and are--independent of the work performance of the individual--used "mainly for measures to develop health and social welfare, public education, culture and sports."<sup>14</sup> From these funds also come the financial means to ensure low stable prices for basic-need commodities and for stable low rentals and services. For example, in the 10 years between 1971 and 1981, circa M 50 billion were spent on stable rentals; M 21.2 billion will be needed in 1982 to keep the prices for basic-need commodities and tariffs for services stable. In the same year, the state will allocate M 18.8 billion for public health and social welfare and the social insurance. The 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan has allocated nearly M 300 billion for these social funds, which equals



a monthly subsidy of M 900 per family of four in 1985. As various socio-political measures in deliberately encouraging certain social groups show, such as large families, young couples, women and mothers and so forth, the social funds are also used to equalize to some extent certain factual disparities which the performance principle cannot do away with to put social justice into effect at a broad range. And the various measures in support of women (cf. GDR Constitution Article 20 section 2 and Article 38 section 2) also are meant to provide equality for women, not only de jure but de facto.

#### High Demands Placed on Management Activity

A continued implementation of social justice does not come automatically. It rather makes high demands on the management activity on all levels and in all fields, especially also on the various forms of political-ideological work. After all, the performance principle, e.g., which constitutes an essential aspect of social justice in socialism, is not brought to realization by any sort of automatism but through aware action by men who enforce this principle in terms of their own insights, capabilities and capacities under probably most diversified conditions. And then, of course, there occurs a mix of objective and subjective elements. We must always remember that the citizens in a most concrete fashion experience the justice of socialism by their pay check and by the manner their state manager rates their action or performance, which they may feel to be either fair or unfair, or by the attitude a state functionary shows to their justified worries or wishes. This fact gives rise to higher demands placed on each manager. He has to act in such a way that the high plain of real social justice becomes recognizable and perceivable to every citizen.

The already referred to example of the implementation of women's equality as an important element of the realization of social justice makes most vividly clear what real socialism has in fact already accomplished here--in contrast, e.g., to the FRG with its formal declaration on the equality principle in the Basic Law. But our experiences also tell us that it does not depend alone on many good laws and social measures taken by the state but on that which men and women make of it every day in a practical way, on how the managers and colleagues help women meet their complex social obligations in gaining occupational and general skills and taking part in socialist democracy--and on how husbands reconcile themselves to equal rights and equal duties in the domestic situation, the household and the upbringing of the children. Justice is not accomplished merely by legal regulations but through social, notably economic, changes and the practical general attitudes of men.

This touches on the relation between the material and the ideal, between the objective and subjective, which is of special importance to our subject and certainly also is contradictory. Because what people do depends on the objectively extant, mainly material, living conditions as well as on their awareness. Essential is the state of social and individual consciousness of the citizens, particularly their consciousness of morality and law, their attitude toward the rights and duties, the equality of entitlement and obligation by all. This social and individual consciousness decides how an individual contributes practically to the implementation of social justice.



Consciousness and forms of consciousness always are a reflection of material existence, of practical experience. That also applies to justice as an experience of evaluation and fairness. And that precisely is the reason why especially in this respect ideological work has so much weight. In our practical reality, our realized social justice, we doubtless have all prerequisites for the citizens' thinking and acting in social conformity, yet it would be wrong to depend on automatic effects of these objective givens, on their spontaneous reflection in the citizens' thoughts and conduct. "Socialist effects arise only by being properly combined with effective ideological work. That requires also the rigorous enforcement of socialist legality, guaranteeing order and security in all domains."<sup>15</sup> This also includes an adequate knowledge of law regulations which, after all, also essentially serve to bring social justice to realization. Socialist justice cannot be brought fully to realization without the knowledge of law and law education, and that also applies in the economy and to the life on the job.

And with all this we must not forget for a moment under how much of an ideological barrage from the enemy we are establishing developed socialism. There are bourgeois ideologues who, through tremendous efforts, seek to sow confusion among citizens in capitalist countries and also among citizens in socialist states and abuse justice and freedom, the ideal of humanity, to keep the working people from becoming aware of their own objective interests and from committing themselves to action.

High qualitative demands for ideological work, not last, also arise from the fact that an individual experiences in a highly individual manner his objective reality, and hence also social justice in socialism. All the more necessary it is convincingly to explain to the citizens, by means of their own concrete experiences in life, their own questions and problems, expertly and thoroughly, the principles, basic values and accomplishments of our socialist society and the concrete forms and the steps taken in the realization of social justice. In particular we have to provide a concrete explanation for what has already been achieved in this field as a truly historic accomplishment of socialism, what is at present objectively possible, and what is not so. That includes taking issue, in a manner that sets examples for the working people, with all that which obstructs enforcing everywhere what is in fact objectively possible.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In his "Utopia," Thomas More has his Raphael Hythloday say: "Howbeit, doubtless, . . . where possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke, it is hard and almost impossible that there the weal-public may justly be governed and prosperously flourish. Unless you think thus: that justice is there executed where all things come into the hands of evil men . . . . Thus I do fully persuade myself that no equal and just distribution of things can be made, nor that perfect wealth shall ever be among men, unless this propriety be exiled and banished." Everyman's Library edition, pp 50, 51.

2. Cf. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin of Inequality": Rousseau already saw the difference between the "natural" type of inequality due to differences in man's age, health, physical capacities and mental and emotional traits, and the social differences arising in consequence of private property, in particular the division into rich and poor.
3. The utopian communists like Jean Méslier, e.g., did, to be sure, envision an equalizing communism with equal pleasures in foods, housing, clothing and so forth--and even all the way to health and old-age provisions; cf. "Franzoesische Aufklaerung. Buergerliche Emanzipation, Literatur und Bewusstseinsbildung" (French Enlightenment--Bourgeois Emancipation--Literature and Consciousness Formation), Philipp Reclam jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1974, p 331.
4. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works) Vol 20 Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 17.
5. Ibid., p 262.
6. Cf. ibid., p 99.
7. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 480.
8. "SED Central Committee Secretariat Conference With the Kreis First Secretaries--Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13/14 February 1982, p 1.
9. Erich Honecker, "On Topical Questions of GDR Domestic and Foreign Policy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 April 1982, p 3.
10. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 73-74.
11. Kurt Hager, "Die Gesellschaftswissenschaften vor neuen Aufgaben" (The Social Sciences Facing New Tasks), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 34.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on the All-Russian Nutrition Conference," "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 471.
13. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," loc. cit., pp 479-480.
14. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 24.
15. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 29.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MAN-WOMAN RELATIONSHIP CHANGES IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 124, 17 Aug 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Experts Defend High Divorce Rate." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by Prof Herta Kuhrig, cited below, follows this commentary]

[Text] Two well-known GDR family law experts have defended the divorce rate in the socialist German state, high in comparison with the FRG (while in 1978, there were only 0.53 divorces per 1,000 marriages in the FRG, there were as many as 2.58 in the GDR), and warned against a negative assessment. It often caused surprise and confusion, Prof Herta Kuhrig of the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, GDR Academy of Sciences, wrote in the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1982), "that despite the social security under which the marriage and the family can prosper not a few marriages end up before the divorce court." It was called for, however, "to discriminate greatly when looking at divorces." According to the chairperson of the Scientific Council on "Woman and Socialism" in the GDR, it would be "illusory to assume love is so strong in every matrimony that it lasts 'forever.'" The basis for marriage in socialism no longer were "external coercion and material considerations," but rather emotional ties, and emotions were easily hurt. That made marriage "more interference-prone." Prof Kuhrig raised the question in this connection if it was not conceivable "that in capitalist society the interest in marriage as an institution in the power and order mechanism to prop up class rule was so big that all sorts of factors are brought to bear on keeping marriages 'stable' from the outside, regardless of the preferences and interests of the persons concerned?"

Also in the view of the family law department head at East Berlin's Humboldt University, Prof Anita Grandke, divorce must "not simply and absolutely be something negative." In the GDR, as she stated in her essay, "Junge Leute in der Ehe" (Young People in Marriage), published by Staatsverlag, "the number of marriages on paper only is probably small in comparison with the past or with imperialist countries." There hardly was any longer any compulsion from the outside to preserve meaningless marriages. Divorce figures also pointed "to high demands made by the partners on their marriage and on a combative attitude toward life refusing to accept things passively." Prof Grandke thus considers it conceivable that in the future the marriage partners' "own decision possibilities" about dissolving their marriage "be expanded."

Nonetheless she has to grant that divorces are "a real problem for society and the persons concerned." More than 100,000 citizens lost their habitual family living conditions each year. Circa 50,000 children likewise were affected. "Not insignificant," so says this family law expert, "are the effects on the joy of working and living, health and housing problems." Therefore it was absolutely necessary for young people "to acquire knowledge and skills for successful marriage management."

#### GDR Academician's Analysis

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 800-808

['Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Herta Kuhrig, Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairperson, Scientific Council on 'Woman and Socialism': "Love and Marriage in Socialism." A translation of the March 1982 EINHEIT article by Irene Zickenrott, cited in footnote 9, is published under the heading, "Conditions for Improving Family Life Analyzed," in JPRS 80823, 17 May 82, No 2010 of this series, pp 25-31]

[Text] Proceeding from the ideas of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, this article explores how relations between man and woman are shaped in the GDR, how new interhuman attitudes are evolving in marriage and family life. What are the ramifications of the fact that material motives have by and large lost their importance for the choice of a partner? What higher demands made on marriage and the family are due to the fact that woman has equality under socialism?

Love between man and woman is an inexhaustible topic in the literature and art of the past and of today. No doubt, that will remain so in the future. The aesthetic treatment of such intimate, passionate affection between two people in the works of art of the various genres and epochs most clearly reveals that since time memorial, ever since we have received testimonials to human history, love has been among the supreme joys of human existence, and unrequited love can cause the most upsetting human tragedies. It also becomes evident that the idea of the ideal partner has lost none of its importance. Yet have love and affection been exclusively a matter of the persons directly involved, a matter of freely deciding on the chosen one? Only in the fairy tale can a prince celebrate his wedding with a kitchen maid, only in the trivial literature of the 20th century is there a happy end between a working woman and the son of the entrepreneur.

Individual love and affection, choosing a marriage partner--that runs into barriers in the exploiter society which, beneath many disguises, ultimately had its base in property relations, and still does in many parts of the world today. Duty and obedience toward the parents and to one's race, religion, status and class are setting limits against which to rebel can lead to tragic

denouement. Lysistrata, to be sure, and the women's strike to refuse, which she organized, stand for what they could do, with cunning and prudence, in exercising some power over men. But generally gender roles were clearly circumscribed. Man played an active role, woman a passive one. Woman was not equal to man as a sex partner, the female sex did not rate as equal.

Granted, these introductory reflections, brief as they need be, are gross generalizations and oversimplifications and leave room for objections. It is the basic trend which means to be traced, to suggest thinking of the legacy the socialist revolution assumed when it started to bring to realization the humanistic ideals, within which the working class moral conceptions are subsumed, in the domain of love and marital relations, too. Which general human values evolved in the relations between man and woman, and how have the centuries, even the millenia, in which private ownership controlled the means or production, formed and deformed those relations? What is worth keeping? What must be changed and how must it be changed? What is the realistic tempo for those changes? What contradictions and conflicts are to be expected? What phenomena cause us concern? How do concrete historic traditions affect the formation of new sex relations? These are many questions. Sound scientific answers in every way are by no means yet available to all of them.

#### Marxism and Love

Where do we find the sound scientific basis for the right answers to the confusing variety of questions, for the answer which ultimately but makes a question about the changes resulting for love and marriage in socialism appear reasonable? All over the world, sex literature under various aspects has been published in recent decades. Interesting insights were gained into details. Yet it has been found that all that ultimately lacks direction unless here also an answer is found for the element which, with all the ideological and sexual-biological superimposition, is "in the last instance" the crucial one.

Marx and Engels disclosed that connection; their understanding of it has lost none of its importance to this day. They showed that sex relations, marriage and the family, in content and form depended on the given social order. Already in the "Communist Manifesto" they had come to realize: "The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation."<sup>1</sup> Without any mystification the bourgeois family was characterized as a historic phenomenon.

The ideological champions of private property, to this day, have sought to disguise this close connection. In his "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Engels comprehensively proved that love, marriage and family are no eternal and unchangeable categories subject to biological explanation, but that sex relations also, within the scope of economic and social development, have gone through penetrating changes and will continue to do so. His analysis proves that the generating of private ownership in the means of production not only produced antagonistic classes and the state but also the monogamous marriage and the family, whose primary function was to preserve and hand on private property and its essential characteristic, the suppressed and disfranchised position of woman in marriage, the family and the society.

"Monogamy arose from the concentration of larger wealth in the hands of a single individual--a man--and from the need to bequeath this wealth to the children of that man and of no other."<sup>2</sup>

Derived from that, he raises the question: "Having arisen from economic causes, will monogamy then disappear when these causes disappear? One might answer, not without reason: far from disappearing, it will on the contrary begin to be realized completely."<sup>3</sup> On what does Engels base that prediction? "Here a new element comes into play, an element which, at the time when monogamy was developing, existed at most in embryo--individual sex love."<sup>4</sup>

Let us add the criteria Engels assigns to individual sex love--in contrast to simple sexual desire, the eros: it presupposes loving reciprocity in the loved person; to that extent, woman is equal to man; sex love has a "degree of intensity and duration which makes both lovers feel that non-possession and separation are a great, if not the greatest, calamity. . . . And finally there arises a new moral standard in the judgment of a sexual relationship. We do not only ask, 'Was it within our outside marriage?' but also, 'Did it spring from love and reciprocated love or not?'"<sup>5</sup>

It is generally known that Engels was extremely reticent in expressing himself on the concrete shaping of sexual relations freed from external pressures. But with regard to what it negated, he made a clear statement: "But what will quite certainly disappear from monogamy are all the features stamped upon it through its origin in property relations; these are, in the first place, supremacy of the man and secondly, the indissolubility of marriage."<sup>6</sup>

So one finds a clear and sound scientific basis for the position love, marriage and family assume in the scientific world-outlook of the workers class. At the same time it becomes clear that the formation of these new relations certainly suggests a complicated and contradictory process. It suggests that even abolishing the private ownership in the means of production cannot offer the guarantee that there will be nothing but fulfilled and happy relationships, only a "shouting to the skies with delight," but that pain and sorrow in the affairs of the heart certainly still occur. That implies the obligation not to surrender that process to evolution but consciously also to face these tasks in the shaping of the new society with its material and ideational living conditions.

Mutual aid and assistance and the mutual respect and recognition for the partner's human dignity are a component of the struggle for social relations of human dignity. Also the struggle for eliminating the discrimination against woman and woman's equality is not only a struggle on the overall social plain but includes the struggle to eliminate the deprivation and degradation of woman in sexual relations, love, marriage and the family. The realization that someone who suppresses others cannot be free himself applies also to sex relations.

One document that has remained highly relevant to present days and demonstrates the seriousness with which he fought for enforcing the class standpoint in the affairs of the heart is Lenin's letter to Ines Armand. It also reveals the difference in positions between proletarian and bourgeois moral conceptions. Ines Armand had intended to write a brochure for working women on these matters.

She had sent its draft to Lenin. In his reply, Lenin emphasizes the high responsibility and conscientiousness with which she should have to approach treating this subject. " Paragraph 3--'(woman's) demand for free love' I recommend deleting. That really turns out to be no proletarian but a bourgeois demand. And indeed, what do you mean by it? What can one mean by it? 1. Freedom from material (financial) accounting in love? 2. Also from material cares? 3. from religious prejudice? 4. from papa's 'no' and so forth? 5. from the prejudices of 'society'? 6. from the narrow confines of the (bourgeois or petty bourgeois or the bourgeois intelligentsia) milieu? 7. from the fetters of law, the courts or the police? 8. from being serious in love? 9. from having children? 10. freedom to commit adultery? etc. . . . Precisely because in contemporary society, those who talk most and loudest and the classes of 'upper visibility' mean numbers 8 to 10 by 'free love,' it is not a proletarian but a bourgeois demand. Only to the proletariat mainly numbers 1 and 2 are important, and then numbers 1 to 7, but that is actually not 'free love.' It does not matter what you subjectively 'want to understand' by it. What matters is the objective logic of class relations in matters of love."<sup>7</sup>

By comparing public practice with the catalogue of demands sketched by Lenin, we find indeed that through the socialist revolution demands 1 to 7--i.e. the proletarian demands--have by and large been fulfilled.

In talking with Clara Zetkin, Lenin once again extensively discussed the proletarian moral views in sexual matters: "The old ideological values (dissolve) and lose their binding authority. The new values crystallize slowly, under struggles. Also in interhuman relations and those between man and woman sentiments and ideas are being revolutionized. New demarkations are set between the right of the individual and the right of the whole, which refers to the duty of the individual. Things are still in the most chaotic fermentation. It is a slow and often painful process of waxing and waning. Especially also in the field of sexual relations, marriage, the family."<sup>8</sup> These are insights and facts that also only make possible our coming to understand problems and manifestations with which we are confronted today.

### Love, Marriage and Social Security

The people's well-being and happiness is the supreme political precept in the socialist countries. It includes the well-being of the individual and of his marriage and family. The unity of economic and social policy also embodies the principle to fashion the working people's working and living conditions, in conformity with economic possibilities, in such a way that they promote the personality development and marriage and the family prosper under favorable conditions. The promotion of marriage and the family is an inherent component of the social policy of the party and the government. An article recently published in EINHEIT reports in detail on the level reached in the GDR, particularly after the Eighth SED Congress.<sup>9</sup>

The measure of social security achieved for marriage and family in the GDR is highly embarrassing to the sworn enemies of socialism. They claim, for example, we are "forced" into such measures to make it possible for woman to work and



increase the birth rate because of the shortage in labor power. The falsehood of such arguments requires no comment here; that is explained, after all, by the lack of understanding or the unwillingness to understand the nature of socialism.

To us, there arises an entirely different problem. It often causes surprise and astonishment that despite the social security under which the marriage and the family can prosper in socialism not a few marriages end up before the divorce court, that there is an increasing number of women opting for a child without being married, and that partners live together without being married. For disclosing the causes and interactions among various factors, we still need extensive analyses and also comparisons with science data from our fraternal socialist countries in order to discover, e.g., the effect of concrete-historic elements in the development of the socialist way of life.

Even Lenin had affirmed: "Rationalism it would be, not Marxism, to reduce the transformation of these relations (Author: between the sexes) as such, and detached from their connection with the whole ideology, directly to the economic foundations of society."<sup>10</sup> Sure enough, the conditions of social security no longer are based exclusively on "economic foundations," to some degree they also reveal ideology and are in that sense realized working class ideals. And even so, it is reasonable to ask whether these phenomena in the marriage and family sphere are all as surprising and unexpected as they first appear to be. Are these not rather contradictions that unavoidably accompany the process that forms historically new interhuman relations? Which even then cannot be completely precluded if we still make greater efforts--and those we should indeed make--to, let us say, prepare youth responsibly for love and marriage?

Many surveys confirm that material motives have by and large lost their importance for choosing partners<sup>11</sup> and preserving marital ties. Even among the causes ascertained for divorce, material reasons hardly any longer show up. Men and women enjoy a high degree of social and material security. No longer an interest in money and in the social status of the partner, but mutual affection forms the basis for love and marital relations today. That makes possible, but by that token also requires, a new quality of such relations. In love and marriage from that there arise new demands and needs on the partner, on the substance of their partnership. And if they are not being met? If perhaps also there is a lack in the subjective willingness or capacity to live up to the grown demands on sharing one's life?

An argument that bases itself on a comparison with the past and what conditions used to be can, to be sure, suggest using what is new for one's own happiness sensibly, but to some extent it misses the objective realities of today. After all, here and today the partners face the task to shape their lives together under these very different conditions. Clearly, a partnership can prove to be stable on the long run only if one has things in common and can build on them, maintain and strengthen them. In bourgeois marriage the property interest was crucial; subordination to that interest made for some sort of community of interests that helped preserve the marriage, even when the partnership had lost its substance. And though for the proletarian marriage love and affection could become the rule--did that always buttress its ties throughout the tough subsistence struggle? We know from many sources and everyday experiences of our



parents and grandparents that most of the time the claim to individual happiness could not be the decisive element for living and staying together, but their joint efforts to secure their existence, educate the children, and cope with everyday worries and needs. So there it ultimately also were material and economic restraints that made them maintain their bonds, not rarely under the most difficult and disgraceful conditions for the partners. Let alone, for the time being, the moral and material consequences of divorce. The freeing from outward constraints in socialist society is an inevitably necessary process, is wanted and intended. Social security, granted by society, is a favorable objective basis for love, marriage and the family, but it does not automatically lead to a permanent community of interests.

Almost one out of every 4 children born in our republic in 1981 has an unmarried mother. And it surely is not risky to predict that these children will grow up in social security and safety, surrounded by the solicitude of society, the love of their mothers--and in many cases of their fathers as well. Their way through life is not likely to differ from that of children whose mothers are married. The onus of a "bastard" or "illegitimate" child will not be placed on them. The discrimination against a single mother and her child undoubtedly was one of the most hypocritical trademarks of bourgeois double-standards--in many respects: among other things, different standards for sexual relations of unmarried women depending on whether they led to any "results," different standards for sexual relations between woman and man, all the way to condemning an illegitimate child. Our republic has resolutely done away with such hypocrisy. A single mother and her child enjoy equality. Not only before the law. No doubt it is a genuine moral accomplishment that public opinion is rid of any defamation of an unmarried mother. Nor are daughters under constraint any longer from their families to get married only in order to "legitimize" the child they are expecting.

Our social policy takes the position that ensuring social security for the single mother and her child calls for special subsidies. Surely, it may happen here or there that parents postpone getting married to indulge in the enjoyment of financial subsidies. That, it seems to me, is an unintended concomitant with which one can and must come to grips if necessary. Essentially, however, the process undeniably proves that discrimination against unmarried mothers is gone. Did it still exist, the "price" for it referred to above would surely seem too high to women and their partners. Nor should it be ignored that unmarried women fulfil their desire for a child even when they have come to the conviction they will not manage permanent bonds with the father of their child, for which reason they abstain from marriage. It shows that social benefits can lead to very different consequences.

So we may state that the extent of social security achieved in socialist society allows the partners to decide on a life in common and makes them freer than in all previous generations. This freedom, however, imposes on them a high degree of personal responsibility for fashioning their relations with the other sex.

## Parting Is Sorrow--In Socialism Too

Does a low divorce rate reflect happy marital ties, a high one, the decline of ethics and morality? What are, concretely, the relations between society and marriage? Is it not conceivable that in capitalist society the interest in marriage as an institution in the power and order mechanism to prop up class rule is so big that all sorts of factors are brought to bear on keeping marriages "stable" from the outside, regardless of the preferences and interests of the persons concerned?

Marriage as a bond for life--the wish and hope and dream of all lovers, to be sure, who enter that covenant for life. What does the fulfilment of such wishes depend on? Engels had predicted that under socialist conditions the indissolubility of marriage would fall by the wayside. "The indissolubility of marriage is partly a consequence of the economic situation in which monogamy arose, partly tradition from the period when the connection between the economic situation and monogamy was not yet fully understood and was carried to extremes by religion. Today it is already broken through at a thousand points. If only the marriage based on love is moral, then also only the marriage is moral in which love continues."<sup>12</sup> Such words should induce us to look at divorces with much discrimination.

Let it be said that identical or similar problems are not bound to lead to divorce. What in one marriage becomes a cause for divorce may be coped with in another and possibly even help strengthen the bonds. That is taken into account by our family law in discounting any compelling reasons for divorce but proceeding from the principle of whether a marriage has gone to pieces. A marriage is divorced when it has lost its meaning to the partners, the children and, hence, to society. It would be illusory to assume love is so strong in every matrimony that it lasts "forever." The basis for marriage no longer are external coercion and material considerations but rather emotional ties, and emotions are easily hurt. That makes marriage more interference-prone. Merely one fact: the average age for women entering matrimony in the GDR has for years been slightly above 21, for men, slightly above 23--a relatively early age in personality development. A decision made on a partner, with best intentions and most ardent love, may endure the tempests of life, but it may also turn out to have been wrong. The personality development going on in the various spheres of life, the shaping of character traits, interests and needs, may help deepen love and the marital bond and enrich the life in common and lend stability and permanence to it. This it will best do if not only the partners' ability to form ties was developed but also to meet the obligations resulting from them, the partners are well prepared for marriage and family life and have what it takes to think of problems that may arise as normal, demonstrating the intention and readiness to cope with them together.

Our society has long done away with the moral blemish attached to divorce in the past. It is seen as a sign that two people did not manage to make their love permanent. As marriages that fail once were entered into with love and affection, the divorce may be unavoidable for the persons concerned and yet cause sorrow and heartbreak. It can however also be the starting point for new happiness. (In most cases a divorce also dissolves a family. That gives rise to other issues calling for a separate discussion. Here we are looking at the problem from the marriage point-of-view only.)

## Marriage in Socialism--Community of Equal Partners

"Which man is happy enough, in love or in his marriage, to be able to tell his woman with whom he spends his life all the thoughts that swirl into his head? What an excellent counselor a man could find in his wife, if she knew how to think!"<sup>13</sup> A harsh indictment of the negative consequences of the bourgeois girls' education for marriage.

Compared with that picture which Stendhal drew of his society and age, the measure of success achieved up to our present days becomes most illuminating. Since 1945, boys and girls in the GDR have been receiving exactly the same training, and even the skill level in vocational training shows some essential differences only in the upper age-groups. Women can think; they use their knowledge not only as their husbands' counselors but in their own trade and in society. Almost 90 percent of working-age women does work. For every good reason our Party Program emphasized: "Complete equality between marriage partners, the women's increasing economic independence, and ever better opportunities to take part in public life on equal terms have created qualitatively new prerequisites for the personal bonds formed by entering matrimony and starting a family."<sup>14</sup>

These qualitatively new prerequisites have significantly changed the place value of marriage in the life of women, compared to the past. Woman's equality implies the complete recognition of the equal worth of woman. A woman is no longer measured and rated in terms of her husband's social position. As to the legal importance and the moral evaluation of family status, woman no longer differs from man. Having a job, woman is economically independent and can make a living. Marriage, to her, no longer is an institution that takes care of her.

There is a problem here, however, that may burden a marital bond. In the past, woman's household tasks greatly were due to the fact that the working husband made a living for the family. Our experiences indicate that the habit of leaving household chores to the wife--even if she has a job--evidently belongs among the traditions that are hard to do away with.

Demands made on the partner have changed. What are to young people today the "ideal traits" of a partner? Surveys by the Central Institute for Youth Research came up with the following result: "Young people today would like their partners to stand on firm social grounds, be active on the job and in social life, have political interests and a high intellectual and cultural level and continue in education. The partner is supposed to be loving, affectionate, vital and full of zest, reliable, humorous, kind and friendly." Worth mentioning also is the following: "Most remarkable furthermore is the great identity of the partner image in the two sex groups. It cannot be maintained that there are sex-specific distinctions with regard to the chosen traits of character. He, by and large, is supposed to be no different from her"--with regard to personality.<sup>15</sup>

Changes in the social position of woman also have led to changes in the sex field. Woman too has the right to sexual partnership and fulfilment, and not the duty to submit or refuse for fear of unwanted pregnancy or of "losing her good reputation." The surveys referred to disclose that girls like boys seek stable

partnerships in firm permanent partnership relations. Also in sexual mores, differences in evaluating the conduct of women and men are done away with more and more. Different legal and moral measures are no longer being applied to divorce. These are undeniable moral accomplishments which determine the community of the sexes under our new social circumstances.

"The shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."<sup>16</sup> The formation of new relations between man and woman is part of these penetrating changes, makes them possible, and creates the preconditions for meeting the high demand placed on fulfilled partnership.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 465.
2. Friedrich Engels, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 77.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p 78.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p 83.
7. V. I. Lenin, "To Ines Armand," "Werke," Vol 35, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 155-156.
8. Clara Zetkin, "Recollections of Lenin," "Ausgewaehlte Reden und Schriften" (Selected Speeches and Essays), Vol. III, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 138.
9. Cf. Irene Zickenrott, "Encouraging Young Marriages and Families," EINHEIT, No 3, 1982, pp 317 ff.
10. Clara Zetkin, op. cit., p 140.
11. Cf. e.g., Kurt Starke, "Junge Partner" (Young Partners), Urania publishing house, Leipzig/Jena/Berlin, 1981.
12. Friedrich Engels, op. cit., p 83.
13. Stendhal, "On Love," Ruetten & Loening, Berlin, 1963, pp 214-215.
14. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 55.
15. Kurt Starke, op. cit. pp 176-179.
16. "Programm . . .," op. cit., p 19.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BOOKS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF 'SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE' REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82) pp 856-858

["Socialist Way of Life as Reflected in Sociological Literature"--Reviews by Ulrich Heuschel and Juergen Woithe, doctoral candidates, Institute for Scientific Communism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; of the following six books (books 1 through 5 are published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, and book 6 by VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, East Berlin): 1) "Eine neue Lebensweise--utopisch oder real?" (A New Way of Life--Utopian or Real?), by W. I. Tolstych, 1979; 2) "Arbeitsproduktivitaet und Lebensweise" (Labor Productivity and Way of Life), by Harry Nick, 1980; 3) "Oekonomische Aspekte der sozialistischen Lebensweise" (Economic Aspects of the Socialist Way of Life), by Wolfgang Heinrichs and Jewgeni Kapustin, 1980; 4) "Kultur--Kunst--Lebensweise" (Culture--Art--Way of Life), collectively authored under supervision of Erhard John, 1980; 5) "Freizeit in der DDR" (Leisure Time in the GDR), by Helmut Hanke, 1979; and 6) "Freizeit--Freie Zeit?" (Leisure Time --Free Time?), by Lilo Steitz, 1979]

[Text] Proceeding from the developmental trends in the formation of the socialist way of life, representatives of various science disciplines in recent years have addressed themselves to highly topical matters in interesting publications: the social quality of the socialist way of life and its place value in the shaping of the developed socialist society and in the ideological class struggle, the connection between economic development and the shaping of the socialist way of life, the importance of leisure time to economic development and the way of life, and the contribution by culture and art to the shaping of the socialist way of life.

1) "Eine neue Lebensweise--utopisch oder real?" (A New Way of Life--Utopian or Real?), by W. I. Tolstych

The title announces the basic theoretical concern and ideological objective of the work. The author, after all, is mainly concerned with showing, by taking issue with bourgeois conceptions, the fundamental difference between the socialist and the bourgeois way of life and answering topical questions about the further development of the socialist way of life and the carrying through of communist principles in life's activities of Soviet men. The author examines the way of life under two fundamental aspects: he first analyses it as it

emerged as a concrete historic type determined by the given economic character of a society. The change in men's way of life consequently is a process and outcome of the changes in a particular manner of human activities in the course of which habitual and encrusted forms of life are broken and a new structure of relations and values emerges that condition new forms in men's intercourse and behavior. With this, there changes the way of life as well as its functional place value, its place and role within the system of public life activities. Secondly, he presents the way of life within social orders systematically as an intricate dialectics between the general (the society as a whole), the particular (classes, strata and social groups) and the individuals. Through describing the precapitalist, the capitalist and the socialist way of life, qualitative differences and contrasts in the various ways of life are persuasively worked out. Chapter 4, presenting the characteristic features and advantages of the socialist way of life, offers especially many suggestive considerations, about collectivity and individuality, the living standard and needs, and about culture as an important element of the way of life.

2) "Arbeitsproduktivitaet und Lebensweise" (Labor Productivity and Way of Life), by Harry Nick

This publication emphasizes the interactions between labor productivity and the shaping of the socialist way of life, especially the connection between economic efficiency and carrying on the policy that is committed to the people's well-being under constantly changing internal and external conditions. The author pays much attention to qualitative factors in economic growth, which also include aspects of the socialist way of life, particularly of its personality development. Nick's arguments and considerations are presented in terms of three theses. First: the change of reproduction conditions can only mean, for the irrevocable connection between increasing labor productivity and a rising standard of living, that economic growth is of the greater importance. Second: the growing maturation of socialism is essentially shown also by the growing capability of socialist society as well as the individual, to translate material wealth into genuine enrichment of human life. A better understanding and, mainly also, a better realization of these intricate relations between the material standard of living and enhanced enjoyment of life, is of increasing weight to fulfilling the purpose of socialism. Third: the development of social labor productivity will increasingly depend on how the results of our social policy in turn again become starting points for creative impulses which affect labor productivity. The continued shaping of the socialist way of life is a necessary condition for increasing labor productivity, strengthening our economic capacity and, hence, for shaping the developed socialist society all-around.

3) "Oekonomische Aspekte der sozialistischen Lebensweise" (Economic Aspects of the Socialist Way of Life), by Wolfgang Heinrichs and Jewgeni Kapustin

Through this monograph of theirs, GDR and USSR social scientists have made it their goal to disclose the economic aspects of the socialist way of life in their interconnection. Major attention goes to an analysis of the basic features in the economic aspects of the socialist way of life, as shared by all socialist countries, and their concrete realization in the GDR and the USSR. With it are taken into account interrelations between the economic aspects of

the socialist way of life and the historic, geographic and other particulars in any given countries. The guiding thought for exploring the nature and substance of the socialist way of life is served by differentiating between (a) factors that in one way or other determine each person's way of life under the given mode of production, (b) particulars in the way of life of members of various classes and social groups, (c) regional and national particulars in the way of life, and (d) differences in the way of life as they relate to occupational and other groups in the population. A summary description of the basic features of the socialist way of life is followed by a presentation of the concrete interrelations between perfecting the material-technical base and the shaping of the socialist way of life, the perfecting of the socialist character of labor, and the structuring of the substance of labor and its influence on the development of the socialist way of life. Treated here also are tendencies toward gradually surmounting essential disparities between physical and mental work and between the urban and rural population, and regional problems in the shaping of the socialist way of life. Also examined are the structuring, according to plan, of the socialist distribution relations and the role of social policy in perfecting the socialist way of life.

4) "Kultur--Kunst--Lebensweise" (Culture--Art--Way of Life), Collectively Authored under Supervision of Erhard John

The authors address themselves to fundamental aspects in the connection and interaction between culture, art and the socialist way of life. The focal point is placed on the specific contribution culture and art are making to the shaping of the socialist way of life. To that end, among other things the influence of various artistic genres on the development of the socialist way of life is analyzed. Reflections on the nature of the socialist way of life from the cultural theory point of view aim at accounting for the overall connection between the socialist way of life and the development of all domains of public life with respect to their "cultural quality" as one aspect in this variety of relations. This analysis contains general theoretical problems (traditions of bourgeois classical humanism and the revolutionary workers movement with regard to these matters; sociological analyses of the actual place value of culture and art in the GDR working people's way of life) as well as a theoretical analysis of the potentials of artistic-aesthetic education in these processes. By way of sociological survey data, the concrete contribution by culture and art and the tasks, forms and methods in the political-ideological management of the working people's cultural processes and artistic-aesthetic education are analyzed. At the same time, the authors channel their considerations into suggestions for practical political, artistic and cultural policy, and artistic-aesthetic activities.

5) "Freizeit in der DDR" (Leisure Time in the GDR), by Helmut Hanke

"Because this too is part of the purpose of socialism: a creative lifetime full of work and pleasure for all men" (p. 10). His study--as the author explains his purpose--wishes to make a contribution to explaining those connections. At the center are placed questions about the specific content and functions of leisure time, its social and cultural importance. On the basis of time budget research, leisure time behavior, the use of leisure time for



education, recreation, sociability, communication, sports and games, the differentiations in individual leisure time behavior, and culturally motivated demands made on shaping living conditions during leisure are analyzed, and inferences are drawn for the development of opportunities for a varied individual and communal use of leisure and leisure time conditions. Essential causes shown for differences in leisure time conduct are social differences in working conditions. Two interconnected aspects of leisure are stressed: (a) the specific function and independent value of leisure as part of the way of life, and (b) the actual content and time rhythm in the way of life, determined essentially by the ratio between working time and leisure time. A special point is made of the role of leisure time for reproducing the physical and psychological capacities spent in labor and for an expanded reproduction of working capacity and performance readiness.

(6) "Freizeit--freie Zeit?" (Leisure Time--Free Time?), by Lilo Steitz

What is leisure time? Is it private business? What is the connection between working time and leisure time? What importance does leisure time have for economic development and the development of socialist personalities? From an ideological and comparative-historical point of view, the role of leisure and leisure time activities in men's way of life is analyzed. Proceeding from the connection between the duration and content of leisure time and the economic development, the importance of leisure time for social progress is demonstrated, and connections are shown between scientific-technical progress and the developmental trends in leisure by way of detailed statements on the social and individual ratio between working time and leisure time. Looking at it that way, the author directs our attention especially also at exploring leisure time in its function in the working people's simple, and increasingly expanding, reproduction of labor capacity and performance willingness. Material production sets the preconditions and opportunities for more leisure time and more interesting and substantial leisure time activities in the socialist society. At the same time, socialism always has the task to organize highly differentiated and variegated opportunities for individual activities in the leisure time sphere, which on the one hand takes account of the variety of individual interests and needs and, on the other, itself stimulates leisure time activities to satisfy those needs, promote social well-being, and encourage performance readiness and capacity, productivity and public activity.

In the concrete detail of their subjects of exploration and in their entirety, these publications make a valuable contribution to demonstrating the shaping of the socialist way of life as a historic accomplishment and advantage of real socialism and as an increasingly important factor for the development of socialist society. These publications in a complementary fashion look at various sides and fields, aspects and interconnections in the socialist way of life and its further development. All in all, they provide research, teaching and practice with a coherent survey on the state of the art and the status of debate in this field.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German No 7/8, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 15 Jun 82)  
'Resumes' addendum

Meaningful Life in Our Society

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Alfred Kosing, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 676-684]

[Text] What, for people in our society, connects with the question about the meaning of their lives? Why do work and committed action in many other public domains make up an important part of meaningful existence? What guides the working people in our republic if, despite the threat against humanity by the aggressive imperialist arms buildup policy, they adopt far-reaching personal goals in life? By answering these questions, important objective and subjective conditions for meaningful life in socialism also are presented.

Peace--Ideal and Realizable Mission

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Dr Guenter Kalex, economist, sector chief, SED Central Committee; and Prof Dr Wolfram Neubert, research group director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 685-693]

[Text] What responsibility does a citizen of a socialist state have for the preservation of peace, and what are his chances to work actively for this ideal? How--in contrast to the amorality and anti-humanity of the most aggressive imperialist circles--do socialist morality and the way of life in the countries of our fraternal alliance express themselves in a clear political commitment and concrete deeds of labor by their citizens for peace, in their readiness to defend, even by arms, this most precious good of mankind?

## Party Work to Intensify High Labor Morale

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Jochen Hertwig, social scientist, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Management; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 694-700]

[Text] To carry on the successful implementation of the main task course demands mobilizing all material and intellectual potentials in the enterprise collectives. The basis for that are firm ideological positions, the development of a high sense of responsibility and duty, constantly improving one's knowledge and skills, and exemplary labor discipline. To develop and promote appropriate positions and attitudes is an important concern in political-ideological work. How this is done in the Oder Bezirk under bezirk management leadership, and how the communists work along these lines, is demonstrated by means of vivid examples.

## Intellectually Creative Potential To Be Used More Effectively

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Dr Gerd-Rainer Radtke, economist, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 708-715]

[Text] "Success is a duty"--can this maxim in science work be translated into deeds? How do research collectives which are doing exemplary work attain and stimulate personality traits so much needed for successful work as joy in one's work, courage for risks, and the readiness to be critical toward one's own accomplishment? The author answers these questions while proceeding from defining the place of science today and its importance to our people's material and cultural standard of living.

## On the Ethos of the Socialist Scientist

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Rolf Sonnemann, economist, director, Department of Philosophy and Culture Studies, Technical University, Dresden; pp 729-735]

[Text] An overall sense of social responsibility and a readiness to take risks, strategic thinking and a full personal commitment to research and teaching are part of the ethos of a socialist scientist who seeks top achievements for the good of the people. For tapping performance reserves, improving the cost/benefit ratio throughout, and gaining briefer time frames for starting operations, motivations for the highest achievements are gaining increasing importance.

## Socialist Way of Life Torn Between Ideal and Reality

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Reinhold Miller, research program director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 746-753]

[Text] The specifics and the historically new quality of the socialist way of life, with their essential traits already informing the life in our society--what to they depend on? To shape them further we must deepen our understanding of the dialectics between the ideal and reality if we correctly want to assess what has been achieved and what still has to be achieved. Why is the economic foundation of the socialist way of life basic to developing it further? Which demands arise for our political-ideological work?

## Collectivism--A Characteristic Feature of Socialism

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Dr Klaus Glodde, economist, senior assistant, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 761-767. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] To help develop collectivism as a political-moral accomplishment and advantage of our socialist order and use it as an impulse for continued successful advances is an important management activity task. That is shown in particular in connection with the identity of interests, collectivism and personality development, the role of labor as a development and testing ground for collectivism, and the unity between collectivism and socialist democracy.

## West German Commentary on Klaus Glodde Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 116, 2 Aug 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Attacks 'False Collectivism'"]

[Text] The party journal EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1982), published by the SED Central Committee, has taken aim at "manifestations of mistaken collectivism" in various public domains. They were displayed, e.g. "in trends toward autonomy by collective interests vis-a-vis enterprise or social interests, signs of dishonest performance accounting, formal competition management, holding back collective performance reserves, holding on to untimely traditions and obstructing habits." At times, EINHEIT complained, one "encountered in collectives still practices of leveling and avoiding all issues about unacceptable performance differentials in the erroneous assumption not to want to 'upset' thereby the collective atmosphere." The SED journal in this context called on party members to promote collectivism through political-ideological education work and setting moral examples.

## Political Power and Democracy in Our Society

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt, jurist, director, Institute for Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 768-774]

[Text] Through an aggressive polemic against bourgeois attacks on real socialist democracy, the author unmasks the essence of bourgeois democracy as a political form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, shows who in fact is benefited by its power, and proves by means of various facts the superiority of socialist democracy. Consequences are also pointed out that result for the perfecting of socialist democracy as the main trend in the development of socialist state power.

## Law and Ethics in Socialism

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Karl A. Mollnau, jurist, director, theory of law program, Institute for Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 775-780. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Identical in terms of class content, the diverse factors of law and ethics are gaining increasing importance to securing order, discipline and legality, shaping socialist modes of thinking and conduct, and developing the socialist way of life on the whole, and interaction of them intensifies. The orientation points to consequences for further enforcing ethics by law and still more fully unfolding ideological potentials of law by means of ethics.

### West German Commentary on Karl A. Mollnau Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 118, 5 Aug 82 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "SED Demands More Consistent Action Against 'Cavalier Offenses'"]

[Text] The SED journal EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1982) has emphatically called for more intolerance toward so-called cavalier offenses. No law violation should be considered too slight to be opposed. Especially the minor violations, often called cavalier offenses, frequently became the breeding ground for serious law violations. Ordinary philosophy about insignificant cavalier offenses undermined "the prestige of socialist law and its authority."

## The Politically Ethical Face of Our National People's Army

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Werner Wunderlich, major general, commandant, Wilhelm Pieck Military Policy College of National People's Army (NVA); pp 781-788]

[Text] A first in German history, with the NVA of the GDR there is an army that serves the people's very own interests. Led and brought up by our party, its political-moral countenance is marked by the ideals of socialism, deep dedication to its socialist fatherland, and true comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies. As an army of peace and socialist humanism, it ensures the reliable protection of our socialist construction work and, as a solid component of the united armed forces of the socialist defense coalition, helps safeguarding peace.

## Urban History--An Important Source for Shaping the Socialist Conscience

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Willibald Gutsche, director, Research Office for Regional History, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairman, Central Executive Committee, Society for Homeland History, GDR Cultural League; pp 789-795]

[Text] The history of our cities--more than 75 percent of the GDR population live and work in them--is most apt to deepen socialist historical consciousness and further shape socialist value concepts. When the citizens encounter the traditional testimonials to the past in their hometown, it fosters the pride in what has been achieved in socialism, the citizens' bonds with their immediate working and living environment, the love to their socialist homeland and fatherland, and it bolsters their resolve to protect and preserve what all have produced.

## The Capital for All of Us

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Dr Horst Oswald, secretary, SED Berlin Bezirk Management; pp 796-799]

[Text] Preserving revolutionary traditions, cultivating its humanistic legacy, attesting to the blossoming of our socialist German state--so Berlin today testifies to the creativeness of our people. Together with the working people from all over the country, its inhabitants do a great deal in further enhancing our capital's radiating strength as a city with a high economic capacity, a city of science, culture and education, and a city of peace.

## Care and Respect for Senior Citizens

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Elli Felz, social scientist, director, Main Department for Social Security, Ministry for Health; pp 809-813]

[Text] The GDR has been created by several generations: Senior citizens have had a great share in the birth and growth of our republic. We are especially concerned with the living conditions of older people and their place of respect in society, an expression of our policy serving the well-being of the people. Social security and comfort mark the old age of the veterans of labor and all senior citizens. In overall social responsibility, the party, state and social organizations are following the guidelines contained in the SED Program.

## Moral Progress--Illusion or Reality

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Juergen Schmollack, deputy director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 814-821]

[Text] By taking issue with bourgeois anthropology, which misrepresents the manifestations of moral decay in the capitalist world as a general moral crisis of humanity, the reasons are presented that make contemporary bourgeois ideologues deny moral progress. What is their ideological function? How does moral progress express itself, particularly under contemporary conditions? Which are the consequences that result from it for the work of the party organizations in making moral progress permanent and enforcing it purposefully in accordance with our ideals?

## On the Economic Bases of Workers' Way of Life in Capitalism

[Summary of 'Way of Life and Ethics in Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Dieter Klein, economist, dean (prorector) for social sciences, Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 822-830]

[Text] Which inevitable processes hide behind the wealth of phenomena in which the workers' way of life in capitalism appears to us? What mainly causes the growing pressure and massive burdens working people are under in the capitalist world? What are the chief, interpenetrating complexes of contradictions and conflicts that make for the life-threatening and existence-endangering changes in the way of life shaped by imperialism, its inevitabilities, its crisis and its aggressive policy?

## One of the Greatest Leaders of the Bulgarian and International Workers Movement

[Summary of paper presented at the international theoretical conference in Sofia on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, by Hermann Axen, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for international relations; pp 831-838]

[Text] This important speech by Comrade Axen at the international theoretical conference in Sofia on the occasion of Georgi Dimitrov's 100th birthday pays tribute to Dimitrov's historic achievement, his important part in elaborating the strategy and tactics of the communist world movement at the Seventh CI Congress, and his resolute struggle for peace. The principles he there developed are highly relevant too in the current struggle to ensure world peace. (On the 100th birthday of Georgi Dimitrov, see also EINHEIT, No 6, 1982, pp 648 ff).

## 'What She Has Given Us Will Never Perish'

[Summary of article on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of Clara Zetkin's birth, by Dr Katja Haferkorn, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 839-845]

[Text] Clara Zetkin--ardent patriot and proletarian internationalist--is among the outstanding representatives of the German workers movement and the communist world movement. Her work embodies the continuity of the revolutionary German workers movement from Bebel's party to the KPD, led by Ernst Thaelmann. This spanned a bow from the Second International, in which she always advocated a resolutely internationalist policy, to the Communist International, where she belonged to the leadership body. All her life was a struggle for the liberation of the working people and for peace, democracy and socialism.

## We Cherish the Legacy of Clara Zetkin

[Summary of article on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of Clara Zetkin's birth, by Prof Dr Bodo Blumenstein, director, Clara Zetkin Institute for Teacher Training, East Berlin; pp 846-849]

[Text] To the collective of the Clara Zetkin Institute for Teacher Training in Berlin, the vital cultivation of the work of this great revolutionary is an inseparable component of instilling socialist traditions. Its associates are especially eager to tap Clara Zetkins' many-sided efforts in the struggle against imperialism and war, for peace and socialism, for communist education, the development and deepening of communist convictions and modes of conduct in training young people as socialist pedagogues.

TRAINING OF PILOT-ENGINEERS AT RZESZOW INSTITUTE DISCUSSED

Students, Programs Evaluated

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 12, 8 Aug 82 p 3

[Interview with some staff members of the Aeronautics Institute of the Rzeszow Polytechnic: Docent Dr Adam Borowski, director, Aeronautics Institute; Dr Tadeusz Knap; and Dr Andrzej Tomczyk; by Tadeusz Malinowski; training and recruitment problems are discussed; at the Aeronautics Institute in the second half of June, 1982 (this is an update of the interview published in SKRZYDLATA POLSKA No 51, 52, 1981)]

[Text] T. Malinowski: What kind of youths find their way to the Institute? Are they the kind of youth the Institute wants to see admitted?

Dr Tomczyk: Our youth are exceptional for their passion for flying. All those that make it--and not all make it--want to fly very much.

Docent Dr Borowski: I agree with Dr Tomczyk, with one qualification.

Dr Tomczyk: There is a view that our youths are a little unruly. There are some behavioral problems with students attending the first year of studies. I think that this situation is partially justified. It began with initial admissions to the Institute in 1976. The admitted group consisted of students from other institutions of higher learning who either had already attended classes there or had found out that the aeronautics specialization was activated after they had passed entrance examinations to other institutions. Thus, the students came to us from all over Poland. Each student represented a stronger personality than an average person seeking admission to a polytechnic. Students come here because they want to fly. They have their dream, they hold strong opinions, and they are willing to fight for their convictions. Often, they independently evaluate the taught subjects and make up their minds as to which subjects are useful and which are not.

Docent Dr Borowski: We repeatedly discuss with students the need to learn all subjects well. The discussions help to convince them.



Dr Tomczyk: Within the pilot community there persists a view that it is enough to simply hold the control wheel properly, and the rest does not matter. The first year students have learned to believe it from their peers and previous instructors. Students attending the fourth year feel differently. They have had a chance to see that manual skills alone are insufficient, that the general knowledge, and especially technical knowledge will have bearing on their future flying.

Docent Dr Borowski: After the first year of aeronautical studies students take an examination for a touring licence. In the case of our first group of students, it has to be admitted that their level was only average at first. However, when they took examinations for a professional licence, they were better than pilots from outside of our Institute who were also taking the examination. At that time our students admitted that the subjects they studied were useful.

T. Malinowski: When I listen to you, I get a feeling that you also are learning how to teach students.

Dr Knap: We compare our objectives and educational experience with final results accomplished by our students. Gradually but consistently we develop educational models.

T. Malinowski: One should not expect spectacular results from pioneer ventures...

Docent Dr Borowski: That is true. During the first year we made mistakes. We had to deal with the generation of students that was quite different from our generation. However, we based our actions on memories of our own youth. We assumed that some facts were known to them, as they were known to us. I belong to the generation brought up on a popular weekly SKRZYDLA I MOTOR (Wings and Motor). It was my nightly "pillow reading". As a result of this reading, when I took my entrance examination, I knew half of what we tell our students today. Regrettably, the youth that comes to us from aeroclubs are inexperienced. They have control tests credited, but that proves nothing.

Dr Tomczyk: The academic program went through changes as we gathered experience. Today we are wiser than a few years ago, when we began the first academic year.

Docent Dr Borowski: In the program we emphasize such subjects as electronics, aircraft equipment, radio communication procedures, and navigation. We lack experts in some areas, so some subjects are taught by the LOT Airlines experts.

T. Malinowski: What do you think about the 1981 graduates--the first group of graduates from the flight training specialization at the Rzeszow Polytechnic?

Dr. Tomczyk: Flight training is quite good. The Center For Training Flight Training Personnel has many problems, however. The graduates would do even better, if the Center had 2-engine Mewa aircraft.

Docent Dr Borowski: We believe that the Center should receive aircraft with turbine drive. You fly differently aircraft with piston drive than aircraft with turbin drive...

T. Malinowski: You mentioned several ideas to make training cheaper.

Docent Dr Borowski: This is an open issue. Various views are represented. We have basic doubts as to the idea that the cheapest way to train airline pilots is the cheapest way to train a LOT pilot in general. I do not know if LOT would hire a pilot who spent many hours flying gliders and only a few hours flying Kolibr aircraft. But countries that save more than us do not use An-2 aircraft for training. They use Jet Stream, Falcon, etc. We would very much like to train our students on that kind of aircraft but, unfortunately, we do not have it yet.

T. Malinowski: How are the graduates doing?

Docent Dr Borowski: It is too early to answer this question. The answer has to be given by LOT. It will not be given tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, but in a few years, when our pilots begin more independent work.

T. Malinowski: At the begining of our conversation you mentioned that you agree with Dr Tomczyk's statement, but with one qualification...

Docent Dr Borowski: What I meant was that I wanted to add to the statement. Well, generally speaking, our students do not differ from other youth. In every group there are very good students, a few fair students, and the rest who can be more or less successful depending on circumstances.

T. Malinowski: What kind of youth would the Polytechnic flight training like to see?

Dr Tomczyk: We need young people who are open-minded, thinking, and capable. This is the way a future professional pilot should be. Manual skills are also important, but they are relatively easy to master, as compared to other skills expected of an airline pilot. That is why our Institute would like to see capable people who can acquire knowledge without major difficulties.

Docent Dr Borowski: Young people, our students, should look forward to their profession and enjoy working in the air. To put it simply, they should have an interest in this kind of work, and flying should be their passion. As far as mental capabilities are concerned... Attainment of technical knowledge and studying the exact sciences should not take up all of the student's time. We like to admit to the Institute high school graduates with majors in mathematics and physics and graduates from technical high schools.

Dr Knap: We need students who have no problems absorbing technical knowledge, and who have also a predilection for flying.

T. Malinowski: Perhaps we should narrow it down. What kind of youth should apply to the Institute?

Dr Tomczyk: The youth who did not have too many problems learning in high school, who got a good grade on the entrance examination, will have no major difficulties with higher studies, and have minimal aeronautical education. By the minimal education we mean a class II gliding pilot or class III airplane pilot. In cases of inadequate qualifications a recommendation letter from the instructor will suffice. We might add that students of all aeronautical specializations study together during the first year, and training of airline pilots specifically takes place after the first year. Thus, students get a chance to complete their qualifications in an aeroclub during the year.

T. Malinowski: Does our economic situation warrant training of engineer-pilots?

Docent Dr Borowski: Young people who begin their studies this year will start working for LOT airlines in 6 years, in 1988. I think, we all believe, that until that time we will manage to overcome the economic crisis.

T. Malinowski: Thank you, gentlemen, for the interview, for the exchange of views, and for the information on educating engineer-pilots.

#### Requirements, Qualifications

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 13, 15 Aug 82 p 3

[Interview with Instructor Pilot Roman Przepiora, vice-director, the Center For Training Flight Service Personnel, by Tadeusz Malinowski, at the Center For Training Flight Service Personnel in Rzeszow, date not specified.]

[Text] During my stay at the Center For Training Flight Service Personnel I learned about the training process, and especially about the Center's efforts to prepare as best as possible qualified pilots for their job in the air. I spoke with the Instructor Pilot Roman Przepiora, The Center's vice-director, about matters concerning the training process.

T. Malinowski: Slowly but steadily we begin to pull ourselves away from the incline plane and to hover above it; I am thinking here about the issue of training, of course.

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: It is difficult to imagine contemporary aviation based on the cadre trained using cottage industry methods. Regulations concerning flight personnel clearly state that to receive a professional licence the pilot needs a specified number of hours flying airplanes, flying outside airport, etc. Today these criteria are inadequate, outdated. Thousands of hours are spent flying every year in this country, but those hours are meaningless. Although Poland has many licenced pilots, not all of them represent the level of training that a professional pilot should represent.

T. Malinowski: Pilots abroad are considered qualified to conduct IRF flights after only 200-250 flying hours. We have pilots who flew 1,000 hours but do not have the qualifications...

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: In our Center we trained many pilots for IRF flights. They all had a few thousand hours behind them but they completed the basic requirements almost toward the end of their careers. I could cite many cases of professional pilots with thousands of flying hours behind them, who could not handle bad weather and sometimes even lost their lives, because they did not know how to use the equipment they "transported" all their lives on their flight decks. This is very sad.

T. Malinowski: While flying Mewa aircraft with you and a fifth-year student, I had a chance to confirm the validity of the claim made repeatedly by you and by the Rzeszow Center, that the achieved qualifications make for an experienced pilot, not the number of flown hours.

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: The M-2 Mewa aircraft is our calling card. It has, in miniature, the same electronic equipment as a commercial aircraft, except for the flight deck radar. As you saw, the student correctly approached landing. He did not touch the control wheel with his hand, he knew how to program the deck equipment, and he made the proper use of the existing radio-navigational equipment. This is the kind of training of which we are proud.

T. Malinowski: Let us sum up the requirements that should become the everyday reality for all pilots who have behind them 200-250 hours of flying on airplanes.

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: The requirements include flights according to IFR regulations; flights on multi-engine aircraft; flights under difficult conditions: at night, in clouds, without the land visibility; maintaining radio contact in English; etc. These skills cannot be learned part time, in an aeroclub. Aeroclubs have many experienced people. I came from an aeroclub, I respect aeroclubs, and have sentimental feelings about them. But let us admit openly: aeroclubs do not have the capacity to train pilots according to the requirements about which we just talked. The main reason for this is the lack of properly equipped airports. Our Center was able to become what it is today, because we took advantage of several opportunities. First, the institution of higher learning that specializes in aeronautics was established here. Even before that the aircraft industry had flourished here, which, of course, was the reason for the establishment of the institution of higher learning. Secondly, we have an airport here, it is underutilized but fairly well equipped. It has radio-navigational equipment to receive aircraft in all kinds of weather. Thirdly, we also have an educational base--the Aeronautics Institute with its resources and long-range development program.

T. Malinowski: Is it necessary for an airline pilot to have college education?

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: All over the world a view prevails that an airline pilot should have a college education. In our Center we observe and we analyze, in cooperation with the Aeronautics Institute staff, how pilots are trained abroad. Therefore, we know what is being done in several centers outside of Poland. Some Institute scholars visited the centers and briefed us. Generally, airlines use young people who are college graduates, but there is no consensus in this matter. However, there is a tendency to reduce the staff to two persons, which is a reason for the requirement of higher technical education.

T. Malinowski: There is a view that military schools could help alleviate the shortage of professional pilots for civil aeronautics. I think, however, that those who hold this view are not aware of all the implications...

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: That is right. I am familiar with this idea. It is possible to alleviate the shortage of pilots in such a way. But it should also be remembered that military schools emphasize different matters in their training. For example, in West Germany, military transport pilots are first trained by civilian schools, and only after they are fully qualified, the pilots put on their uniforms and they begin the next training stage in military transport aviation. The advanced age of military pilots is an additional problem. I do not think that it pays to train older pilots, because of the great expense of such training. One hour of flying a contemporary airplane costs today probably over a 100,000 zlotys.

T. Malinowski: I think that here we owe our Reader an explanation concerning the preference for training young people.

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: If an hour of flying on, let us say, Il-62 is made available to a 23-25 year old air service student of the Rzeszow Polytechnic, who became a pilot at the age of 16, and if we continue to invest in that student, give him a certain number of hours flying on commercial aircraft, we will be investing in a 21st century pilot. But if we make today expensive gestures and presents to pilots who are in their 40s and older, we cannot hope that they will return our investment. Most of the time the money spent in such a way is either partially or fully lost. An older pilot, simply because of his age, will not get a chance to work for his country long enough to make up for this tremendous financial investment in his training. The maximal "life-span" of our graduate as an airline pilot may reach 20-30 years, while it is only 5-10 years for a pilot who was trained in his 40s. I am thinking here about specific cases.

T. Malinowski: Tell us briefly about the Center's accomplishments.

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: The first group of pilots--graduates from the Polytechnic completed the professional training program in 1981 (IFR and the English procedure). Their program did not include flying 2-engine aircraft, however, since at that time we did not have M-2 Mewa aircraft. The generations of students that followed have flown such aircraft. At present we train at the Center a group of about 150 students attending all the years of the Polytechnic's flight service training. In addition, upon request, we

train pilots from other aeronautic institutions. Since 1977, a total of 25,000 hours were flown in the Center without any serious damage to the equipment. This is another one of our calling cards, which shows that we function properly. Our success is due to the training system which has full radio communication and full radio-navigational protection. There were many who were against An-2 aircraft. We decided to use it because it was not possible to obtain different equipment. However, the aircraft proved itself during training. We also introduced cheaper aircraft--Kolibr. It is safe and it is still being perfected. In 1982 we will have four Mewa aircraft with the necessary training equipment. The Center also trains helicopter pilots from the basics to the professional licence. So far we awarded over 500 various aeronautic authorizations.

T. Malinowski: Does the Center's cooperation with the Institute bring the expected results to both parties?

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: We closely cooperate with the Rzeszow Polytechnic. We expect to do the same in the future and we believe that the cooperation should be expanded, even as far as to include training of pilots who do not attend the Polytechnic.

T. Malinowski: There is another interesting subject to discuss: working models.

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: We are now negotiating with the LOT training department, and we have received a tentative assurance that phased-out airplanes will be directed to Rzeszow for their last technical voyage and anchored to properstands. The airplanes could become a perfect training base for the Polytechnic's students, the future engineer-pilots as well, as other students specializing in aeronautics. This arrangement would considerably expand students' knowledge in the area of operation.

T. Malinowski: Has there ever been a report prepared concerning the professional pilots for the next few years? Such a report is needed because older pilots are leaving and the training program for young pilots should be developed based on the report. To prepare it, the development program for all the aviation has to be known.

Instructor Pilot Przepiora: As far as I know, there is no such report. The report would be very useful, especially for our Center. I believe that the Center could actually prepare the report if it had the authority to do so.

9959

CSO: 2600/943

# EVALUATION, VERIFICATION OF TEACHERS DEFENDED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 29, 29 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by (ZP): "Everyone Needs an Evaluation"]

[Text] In recent months, reviews and evaluations of cadres, including primarily leadership cadres, were conducted in many sectors of our economy in several ministries.

Appropriate conclusions were drawn as the result of detailed analyses and direct discussions with the persons evaluated. Those in whose cases incompetence, laziness, ill will or, as it happened, abuse was demonstrated had to leave comfortable armchairs and quiet offices. Many persons whose work was evaluated positively moved to higher posts.

Cadre evaluations were also conducted in education. That evaluation is still continuing, and its results have not yet been summarized in detail. However, it is worth noting that as of now the evaluations have encompassed 45,966 persons in the leadership cadre, including 417 inspectors of education and upbringing, 1,978 gymnasium principals, 3,021 secondary school principals, 11,936 elementary school principals, 10,980 directors of various education and upbringing units, 960 employees of education and upbringing superintendents' offices and 16,674 teachers fulfilling other leadership functions. As a result of this review, 1,249 persons were found to be incompetent to perform leadership functions in education.

The evaluation, both of leadership cadres in education as well as the partial evaluation of teachers, evoked a great deal of discussion in the community. We received a series of letters on this subject from our readers. As is usual in such situations, opinions were divided. Some asserted that an evaluation of leadership cadres in education is unnecessary, that it evoked dissatisfaction among teachers and others. Along with this, readers advanced the reservation that evaluation is contrary to the provisions of the new Teacher's Charter. "A teacher--writes one of the respondents--should not be evaluated, because an evaluation impairs the authority of an educator in society." Other respondents are of a different opinion. "Everyone needs an evaluation" is the opinion shared with us by one of our readers. "A person who is beyond evaluation will sooner or later come to the conclusion that he can proceed without regard to commonsense, in spite of the opinions of the community and



and his colleagues. If such a person, with that kind of way of thinking, finds himself in a leadership post--tremble, citizens!" Another school principal writes: "I consider that my work must be subjected to evaluation. Without such critical reflection, without critical comments and conclusions pertaining to my work, I cannot imagine myself in my post." Some letters express doubts as to whether the evaluation of the leadership cadre and evaluation of teachers' work must take place precisely now during the period of martial law and suspension of labor union activities. "I am for evaluation," writes one teacher, "but the deadline for discussions with us was selected unfortunately. Labor unions are not functioning. Who will defend the teacher who does not agree with a negative evaluation of his work?" Another states: "The discussions for evaluating teachers' work were initiated to dispose of those teachers who belong to Solidarity..."

Let us reach for the Teacher's Charter. There are many articles in chapters 2, 3 and 4 that formulate the principles and conditions under which a teacher, or person performing leadership functions in a school, can be dismissed from his post. We could have cited the appropriate articles at this point, but we believe that the complete text of the charter is in each teacher's possession. By way of a reminder, GLOS published it on two occasions.

Can a teacher or person performing a leadership function in a school appeal during a state of martial law from what in his opinion is a harmful evaluation! Of course! Many of those dismissed from their positions are appealing to superintendent's offices, the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, voivodship committee departments of science and education and the PZPR Central Committee. All of these appeals are examined. Teachers also write to GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI. We intervene; our reporters go out in the field, get in touch with the interested parties, conduct talks with education authorities. A series of such interventional matters found their epilogue in the columns of our weekly. It will suffice to reach for GLOS numbers, if only number 20, in which editor Janusz Trzcianka took up the question of the release of long-term principal Wiktor Labuz of Suchodien. The wrong inflicted on this person was righted.

Why were the discussions conducted toward the end of the school term? Because that, among other things, is what is provided in the Teacher's Charter. In chapter 4, article 17, we read: "The school supervisory organ entrusts the leadership function in school to the teacher; it can dismiss him from those functions at the end of the school year by a written 3-month advance notice and, in particularly well-founded cases, also during the school year."

The problems associated with the dismissal of teachers are difficult. However, in most cases they result not from ill will on the part of the school supervisory organ but most often as the result of the evident failures of people who, performing a responsible function in education, were not discharging the tasks that were set for them; their incompetent work led to conflicts and frequently to abuses. To be sure, there were also instances of dismissals caused by an attitude of some teachers that was incompatible with the law obligatory during a state of martial law, teachers who did not discontinue their union activity after 13 December 1981. Some also tried to

conduct lessons drawing basic materials from illegally published brochures and books. These were rather sporadic cases, but they did exist.

At this point, we will allow ourselves to cite the interview given to the editorial staff by the deputy minister of education and upbringing, Division General Jan Czapla. At that time, we presented the following problem to our interlocutor: "Letters directed to the editorial staff with a request for intervention point to the danger of many distortions in cadre verification. The discretionary interpretation of regulations or even a lack of knowledge about them evokes a great deal of confusion among the teacher cadre. There are even unisolated cases of exploiting a situation for personal reasons. Only a penetrating examination of the case makes it possible to unravel the inner history of some decisions."

This is the position the minister took with reference to the problem:

Three principles are obligatory in educational cadre review:

First, reflection in relation to the basic number of teachers. People who are doubters or who have been disoriented by the concept of a school independent of the state that was advanced by Solidarity understand their mistakes. There are many worthwhile educators among them. Polish education would experience great losses if it deepened their distrust by thoughtless actions. Quiet talks, clarification of the complicated situation and the necessity resulting from it and above all credible achievements--that is the way to gain their confidence for the actions of state authority.

Second, we will be proceeding radically against decided foes of socialism in order to hinder their factious influence on youth's minds. In short, we are parting company with them. Anyway, this refers to a very small group of teachers. Most teachers identify with the system's basic values.

Third, a review of cadres must take place consistent with the Labor Code and provisions of the Teacher's Charter. It concerns a normal evaluation in a cycle defined in this important statute for the teaching community. At the same time, we will be protecting those who expose obvious evil, which makes the stabilization process and escape from the crisis more difficult. For example, one of the school principals criticized the head of a gymnasium for inactivity, slovenliness and bureaucracy. The latter, on the other hand, "played the part" by releasing the principal from his duties. Of course, he proceeded at variance with the law. Thus, the ministry will be attaching great weight to observing the letter of the law in cadre policy.

A review thus understood cannot arouse reservations. Principles thus formulated will be accepted--it seems by us--by all thoughtful teachers. A work evaluation is needed for everyone that works honestly, solidly and creatively.

10433

CSO: 2600/920

## TANASE CASE, RFE 'DENIGRATORY ATTACKS' DISCUSSED

Bucharest SPTAMINA in Romanian 24 Sep 82 p 7

[Article by Eugen Barbu: "Ion Caraion's Newspaper"]

[Text] It could be that some readers will ask us why we are so concerned about the broadcasts made by Radio Free Europe. I would like to answer them by saying that the denigration of our country from day to day by this radio station seems to me to be poisonous and that we can only combat it by telling the truth about the people there. I have not kept statistics, but the majority of those people who "opted for freedom," as can be seen as time passes, had a double-dealing past that they carefully hid. Some of them held important public positions in the public affairs of Romania, they headed institutes and, yes, even judged those who they now serve. Certainly, no one asks a person to blindly believe in an idea. There have been errors of a political nature in Romania during those years, which they party has recognized, and there were some people who were condemned unjustly and who were rehabilitated, giving them the opportunity to travel abroad where they could profit by denigrating Romania. Unfortunately, the clientele of Radio Free Europe are for the most part suspect. Former legionnaires who penetrated the communist party after the war, careerists like Emil Georgescu, Vlad Georgescu and Cicerone Poghirca. The list is long and apparently still open. There are individuals who are still getting considerable sums of money from the Literary Fund and who use any opportunity to travel abroad and bring news about the literary life in Romania. They are known, left to carry the post to Big Mama Lovinescu, to make their confessions to Mr Iorunca and to receive their alms from these two. It would not be a surprise for some of them, tomorrow or the next day after, to "judge" us from there because we allowed too much.

This freedom from which they are profitting has, in some cases, led to the strange situation where we, those of us here, are listening dumbfounded to the summary of certain sessions at the Writers' Union or at other places, summaries that naturally are distorted according to the wishes of the patrons in Paris. The malicious tales from our newspaper and magazine editorial staffs and, yes, even the electoral maneuverings that are revealed without any discomfort not by us, the so-called group of 20 or so, but precisely by these others, those who are selling their dignity and their country, using foreigners who travel to visit our country, relatives or friends on behalf of those who have abandoned the country, and so forth. They, these older or younger people, mark their

"resistance" activity in the hope that sometime somebody in Munich or in some other place in the world will give them some tokens in the camp of our adversary. Unfortunately for them, no one knows how much longer this will go on, how much longer they will be left to move this tendentious secret information along through their channels, this folly that becomes more and more incredible, because patience has a limit. For a long time there has been talk that a young poet, who is kind of useless and curious about being vicious, which is so, wants at any price to express himself with the help of RFE, making all the "maneuvers" in this direction and preparing himself to be received with honors and rewards to the extent of the desperate efforts he is making here. Let him be sure that no one will block this undertaking and that we wish him good riddance, but not before we remind him, him and others, that Virgil Ierunca - and this we know from a close friend of his - sometimes has moments of profound anxiety for what he is doing and that during a moment of sincerity stated that his only wish would be to be born over again as a simple anonymous person so as not to have the wretched job of defaming his own country. We, those of us here in Romania, who have become used to the insanities of Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca and their band, have had enough of their barking and distortions because, as everyone knows, a lie does not live long. That is why we continue to publish the wretched pages of a person who says one thing in public and writes another thing at home in this notebooks.

In a brochure that is not even 200 pages long that was published in the West, Ion Caraion draws up a biography, as we have noted, that is "good for the West:" democratic-democratic, antifascist-antifascist, beaten and tortured by the securitate [Ministry of the Interior secret police], condemned to death, searched, assassination attempts (crazy stories are in fashion in Paris, about poisons being put in cups like back in Borgia's days, people being executed with fountain pens right before television cameras and a large number of newspaper people; police stories of the worst quality that have been invented by Paul Goma and a certain Virgil Tanase, who kidnapped himself and then later appeared, like Petrache Lupu, saved by a friendly spy, who is mad and who, after he fails to get the first one, must cook the goose of the second; in the end, all the newspapers and people of good sense throughout the world are falling down laughing) and all kinds of things. In rounding out this hilarious lie, the forgetful author does not remember his collaboration with the legionnaire newspapers, his younger days wearing a green shirt in Buzau, the denouncements at Craiova and his set up with plenty of money at the Cartea Romaneasca [Romanian Book] Publishing House. After he declares himself a poet of the order of an Arghezi and a Blaga, greater than Simenon the celebrated author of detective novels, Ion Caraion, in his great love for the late director of the Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House, announces some sensational news. Probably regular people believed in this imposter, not knowing just how double-dealing he was. In what follows here, accompanied by these copies of Caraion's writings, the "close" and most ardent "friend" of the late Marin Preda reveals himself in a true representation. What does he have to say about his protector? Here is a most graphic sample:

"...Five years have passed since the creation of the Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House. What a glow! A period during which Marin Preda published 10 books there, tying up and disbursing disproportionate amounts of money. Payments to the author... Payments to him as the author. And the others? The others do not count. But, what type of payments to the author? False payments. According to the good laws that we have and that should be the same for everyone, a writer is paid somewhat less for a second printing of his work, even less for the third printing and so forth. However, by way of the machinations of Jacob and Gafita, the novelist Marin Preda was paid the same rate for each printing and each book had a number of runs despite the fact that many of the old ones had not been used, but were sitting in the book stores for years on end. The director's two deputies, either together or individually, would appear in his office and (in order to have him close at hand so they could be near to their own catch) get whatever they wanted, quickly, with regards to an editorial idea. And as quickly as it came to them, they would speak out. 'Mr Preda,' the first would say; or 'Marin' the other would say or - 'Mr Director,' they both would say. 'This year it is so many years since the appearance of the book Meetings in the Lands or the book Morometiilor or the book Risipitorilor, and so forth. What would it be to put other another printing of (...and they would quote the titles of the books by the director), celebrating (...) Romanian prose and its most significant representative?' To this question, which was repeated about twice each year (in 5 years, 10 books), the director would fall into deep thought, looking nowhere, seemingly deep in complicated meditation, with his deputies respecting their superior's concentration with a hypocritical reverence. This was a period of meditation that actually was a short ceremony and, suddenly, the number one authority would take his hand from his forehead - a sign that he had thought about it sufficiently, that the process of correlations, evaluation and deduction was completed - would take his hand from his forehead under which sprawled a simple greed, and he would slice the air with a sword-like movement. Sometimes, he would also stand up, although his legs were weak, and the problem would be resolved. He would answer the question. It was difficult, however, the decision had to be made. Who would decide in his place, if not him, no matter how difficult? He thought, and he answered: 'Certainly,' he would say to the second. Or: 'Certainly,' he would say to the first. Or: 'Certainly, comrades. Let us put out a new edition of...' Slowly, with difficulty, heavily (which it had not been for him since his birth) it will honor the names of these honored books, the names of our own books, books gathered in piles from the book stores and warehouses, books of interest to no one for years, books upon which they had fattened themselves in an artificial, forced manner over two quiet generations. 'Certainly,' comrades, this novelist would repeat nearly tired from the effort. 'I will make some modifications in the text...' And, then the two deputies would spontaneously jump up: 'Necessary modifications so we will be able to say that it is a nearly new book.' 'Yes,' the director would add, 'a nearly new book...' He would then take several steps about the room, legs apart, scratching somewhere and mumbling with his hands, making a speech without words, apparently disorientated. However, this was not the case since, as we will see immediately, these gestures played a normative role: they distributed tasks: To the first deputy - 'Put the ninth

edition into the plan... Let us also speak with the Council so as to include it. We'll make two printing runs.' 'Why,' asks the other deputy, 'we can run through three times, for a start, and then later we can see.' 'Then let's do three runs.' To the first deputy: 'You take care of the paper,' says the chief who, at this point, no longer felt it necessary to say mister or comrade. The first deputy did not get angry, however, answering 'Yes' to the chief since he knew what the chief knew. As a result, he would move to the essential business: 'I have arranged for the paper, Mr Preda. We have all the paper we need.' This would not be the only thing that the two deputies "arranged." Furthermore, how else could they live the way they lived? And, on top of all this, the first deputy also started to write books. We will have a novelist just like we have a... poet. 'We will be colleagues in our trade with the novelist,' said the first deputy. Is it not true that a pig has two legs? Why should we be ashamed? Shame is a soap that very soon no one will use..."

Rarely has it happened that a person would hate his protector so much as in this case. Nor had Marin Preda's ashes settled when "his helper," Ion Caraion, began to gnaw at his coffin by way of an article he wrote. Nor had the cries of the late Marin Preda's children and friends stopped when the diligent reader of the publishing house, "the friend for life" of the novelist took his dirty hand to that murderous pen and slandered his memory. The texts published in our press by Ion Caraion on the death of Marin Preda were filled with disgusting and horrible things, right up to the closest flatters of the author of the booklet "Cirtita si aproapele" [The Mole and the Nearby]. His poisonous writings will hit, however, even the strongest characters.

"...The reader will not know that Marin stuck his hands in his food, that he carried on like a pig, that he would do many things to you, that he was sufficiently crude. He had a kind of complex towards cultured people... He did enough stupid things to me..."

"...He would come immediately to me to talk about Marin. (It would seem that I would not be able to talk about me. My mouth would hurt from talking about him.) He who unlovingly believed in himself, did you see how many people came to his burial... Thanks."

Ion Caraion confesses: I suffer like someone without a hide. A skinned skinner. The shameless saint no longer has any limits.

We do not believe that there has been or that there is in Romania a person, a being who would have been willing to steal and fleece the pocket of the state as casually as Caraion did. With horrible verses, an impossible grammar, impudent evaluations on the edge of making you wonder what kind of ideas or lines these are, bombastic lines in which the filth of the expressions and the dark irritations reveal themselves, all these became the pretext for this thieving writer to stick his hands up to the elbows into the pay office at the Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House, into the pay office of the Literary

Fund, into the pay offices of the other publishing houses - over two million in just several years without mentioning the other "honors" that flowed to him from everywhere from magazines, radio stations, the bulletin of the National Theater and so forth. He "swallowed up" by the bucketfull unread manuscripts about which he made pronouncements in an unintelligible style, and he took money and assumed an attitude as the most loyal servant in the area of objectivity. He and "objectivity," he and the "power" to tell the truth about someone's poetry, he who hates all his colleagues, a monstrosity with an especially deadly envy of Sadoveanu, Arghezi, Calinescu and Zaharia Stancu.

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ROMANIA

DECREE ON ESTABLISHMENT, ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF MINISTRY OF SILVICULTURE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 80 14 Sep 82 pp 1-8

[Council of State Decree regarding the establishment, organization and operation of the Ministry of Silviculture]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The Ministry of Silviculture is established as of the date of this decree.

The Ministry of Silviculture carries out the policies of the party and state in the area of silviculture regarding the conservation and development of the forestry resources, hunting and fishing in mountain waters, and the harvesting, processing and use of forestry fruits and other forest products, as well as the proper management of pastures and fields in the mountainous regions and the forest periphery in other regions.

The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the firm implementation of the provisions in the National Program for the Conservation and Development of Forestry Resources.

The Ministry of Silviculture functions as a central coordinating organ for the activities in its area of responsibilities regarding all the socialist units subordinate to central or local state organs and to cooperatist and public organizations, as well as with regards to the citizens.

Article 2. - The Ministry of Silviculture leads, guides and reviews the activities of its subordinate units and is responsible, as the organ entrusted with the plan, for the achievement of the plan in the field of silviculture by all units and those holding lands containing forest vegetation.

Article 3. - The Ministry of Silviculture ensures in its activities the implementation of laws and decrees, as well as decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. - The Ministry of Silviculture cooperates with other ministries and other central organs, as well as with local organs, for the purpose of carrying out its responsibilities.

## Chapter II

### Attributes

Article 5. - The Ministry of Silviculture has the following principal attributes:

#### A. With Regards to the Conservation and Development of Forestry Resources

Article 6. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the conservation and development of forestry resources within the framework of the unified national plan for economic and social development, to which end it:

- a) ensures the unified management of forestry resources on the basis of silvicultural planning, regardless of the type of organ or person holding the land, as well as the forestry vegetation on lands located outside forest areas;
- b) is responsible for the maintenance, cultivation and use of all lands concerned that are located on the forest periphery through the National Program of Conservation and Development of Forestry Resources, and it ensures the recovery and introduction into the forestry industry of all those land areas where projects are carried out or changes are being made for other uses;
- c) in accordance with the provisions of the National Program for the Conservation and Development of Forestry Resources, it ensures the forestation of lands on the forest periphery and outside this area, revitalizes low productivity forests and improves the composition of forests by extending the use of those species that grow rapidly and that have higher economic value;
- d) organizes reserves of forestry and nursery seedstock for the production of forestation materials based on species that are valued for their high economic efficiency for all land holders, as well as for other needs of the national economy;
- e) organizes the placement and use of wood materials that are to be exploited each year according to the approved forestry planning, plan tasks and the regulations listed in the normative provisions in effect;
- f) is responsible for the strict implementation of the norms for the regeneration of forests and the strengthening of protection operations for the forests, regardless of who holds the land;

g) takes measures to protect all the lands in the forestry resources against erosion and degradations of any type, and is responsible for carrying out improvement projects on degraded lands and streams and for completely turning these over to productive pursuits.

Article 7. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the health and cleanliness of the woods within the entire forestry vegetation, to which end it:

- a) organizes the removal and use of fallen trees, trees broken or knocked down by the wind or snows, or trees that are dead or have been attacked by insects;
- b) is responsible for carrying out all projects to clean the woods, to remove and use branches and the remains of exploitation activities, and to maintain the state of health of the woods;
- c) is responsible for removing and using tree stumps left over from the exploitation of the woods, in accordance with the established norms, as well as the management of the lands for the purpose of reforestation;
- d) organizes and carries out all projects for the growing and selection of trees in young woods, and applies the technologies necessary for ensuring the vigorous development of trees and for raising the percentage of valuable species.

Article 8. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the organization of all actions to uncover, prevent and combat pests and diseases harmful to forest vegetation. To this end, it:

- a) reviews the phyto-sanitary state of the forests and puts out information, forecasts and warnings in connection with the appearance of diseases and pests harmful to forestry vegetation;
- b) takes measures so that forestry units and other holders of forestry vegetation lands will apply the technologies that have been established to prevent and combat diseases and pests;
- c) is responsible for carrying out projects under proper conditions in order to ensure the phyto-sanitary state of all forests within the forest perimeter, as well as outside of this area.

In cases where land holders do not carry out projects on a timely basis to prevent and combat diseases and pests, these projects will be carried out by forestry units, with the holders of these lands being required to fully pay for the expenses incurred, beyond the sanctions outlined by law;

- d) ensures the unified implementation of phyto-sanitary quarantine measures.

Article 9. - The Ministry of Silviculture is required to take measures to protect forestry resources, pursuing the strict implementation of legal provisions regarding the management of woods and forestry vegetation outside the forests proper, to prevent fires and damage caused by infractions and violations, and to adhere to the legal provisions referring to the operation of wood processing mills producing lumber and to the use of wood materials.

Article 10. - The Ministry of Silviculture, together with the people's councils, are responsible for the achievement of the programs for the management of parks and other green areas, to which end it:

- a) establishes the composition of the species of trees and bushes that are planted;
- b) carries out a review regarding the strict implementation of the norms regarding the conservation, protection and cutting of trees and bushes;
- c) ensures the cultivation of medicinal and aromatic plants in parks and green areas, as well as the harvesting and use of these plants according to the approved programs;
- d) pursues the production of dendrofloricol materials needed in the green areas and the priority development of perennial plants and shrubs;
- e) takes measures, together with the people's councils, for the harvesting and use of seeds, fruits and flowers from the trees and shrubs located in parks and green areas, as well as on the perimeters of localities.

#### B. With Regards to the Cutting of Forests

Article 11. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the strict adherence to legal provisions regarding the volume, structure and destination of wood materials and the cutting program with the forests and outside the forests proper, regardless of the land holder and including the people's farms.

The volume, structure and destination of the wood materials subject to cutting are approved each year in the unified national economic-social development plan upon the proposals of the Ministry of Silviculture together with the Ministry of the Industrialization of Wood and Construction Materials and the State Planning Committee.

Article 12. - For the purpose of ensuring a normal cutting schedule and regenerating the forests, the Ministry of Silviculture is required to take measures to:

- a) inventory and mark those trees that are to be exploited;

- b) establish timeframes, means and periods for cutting, removing and transporting wood materials from the forests;
- c) outline those areas, by county forestry inspectorate and forest region, where cutting will be carried out and the cutting quotas in accordance with plan provisions;
- d) collect sap during the period prior to the cutting of the trees in order to obtain rosins;
- e) adhere to the legal provisions regarding the diameter and age of trees subject to cutting;
- f) have the units that carrying out the cutting and industrialization of the wood complete actions to fully clean the cutting areas of branches, stumps and other wood materials prior to turning these areas over to the forestry regions.

Article 13. - In those young forests that have not yet been exploited, the Ministry of Silviculture carries out maintenance cuttings - clearing, cleaning and thinning - according to the state of development of the forest, ensuring the selective extraction of those trees that block the growth of high quality trees, as well as those that are dead, have been attacked by insects or have been knocked down or broken by the wind.

Article 14. - Under conditions outlined by law, the Ministry of Silviculture authorizes cuttings of any type within the forests and outside the forests proper.

#### C. With Regards to the Management, Maintenance and Use of Roads Within the Forests

Article 15. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for and reviews, under the conditions outlined by law, the proper maintenance and administration of forest roads, tourist routes and other roads and forest access ways, regardless of the land holder.

Article 16. - The construction of forest roads and other forest access ways, as well as pipelines and powerlines, is done only under the conditions and with the approvals outlined by law, with notification of the Ministry of Silviculture.

Article 17. - The Ministry of Silviculture, together with the Ministry of the Industrialization of Wood and Construction Materials, establishes the placement of forest roads, forestry railroads and other transportation installations needed in the exploitation of wood, with the following obligations:

- a) it pursues, throughout the work, the full adherence to project provisions and the achievement of an appropriate level of quality, while avoiding the degradation of surrounding forests and lands;

b) after the conclusion of exploitation work, it assumes control of forest roads for their maintenance and management;

c) together with the Ministry of Tourism and the appropriate organs of the people's councils, it ensures the marking and proper maintenance of tourist routes in those regions that are part of the forest areas.

D. With Regards to the Use of Forest Fruits, Edible Mushrooms and Other Products of the Forest

Article 18. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for drawing up and fully achieving the Forest Fruit Production and Use Program, to which end it:

a) organizes within the forests orchards of fruit-bearing plants on selected lands, and ensures the proper care and maintenance of them for the purpose of achieving the production established in the plan;

b) is responsible for the planting of fruit-bearing plants on the edges of the forests, along roads and along waterways;

c) together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, organizes nurseries for the production of seed materials for fruit-bearing plants that are among the high productivity species;

d) organizes and is responsible for all activities to harvest and use the forest fruit from the orchards and from the naturally-growing flora.

Article 19. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the complete achievement of its tasks in the Program Regarding the Cultivation and Use of Edible Mushrooms, to which end it:

a) assigns tasks to each forestry inspectorate from the program regarding the development of mushroom crops;

b) reviews and pursues the manner in which these activities are organized in each forestry region, district and canton;

c) provides biologic materials to propagate the mushroom crop, according to the specific nature of each region;

d) takes measures for the complete harvesting of the planted mushroom crop, as well as naturally-growing mushrooms, and for their use by the appropriate units.

Article 20. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for raising stands of willows within the forest and outside the forest proper and for providing seed materials for all growers in the economy.

Similarly, it organizes activities to harvest and use the willows in finished products, as well as to deliver the established quantities in the plan to other producers.

Article 21. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the proper management and use of seeds, rosin sap, pine cones and medicinal and aromatic plants that grow naturally, as well as all other products of the forest.

Article 22. - The Ministry of Silviculture is required to organize the primary extraction of essences and essential oils from pines and mountain flowers, oils and other useful substances from nuts, acorns, pine cones and other forest seeds for the purpose of using them in industrialization processes in the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, as the case may be.

E. With Regards to the Management of Pastures and Fields Within the Mountain Regions and the Forests in Other Regions

Article 23. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the cultivation, regeneration, improvement and use of pastures and fields in the mountain regions and in the forests in other regions, and takes measures to achieve the production of green fodder as established according to approved programs.

Article 24. - The Ministry of Silviculture organizes and is responsible for carrying out the following projects:

- a) the seeding and overseeding of pastures and fields with grasses and high productivity fodder plants;
- b) the clearing and leveling of lands, the removal of stumps, the clearing of weeds and harmful brush;
- c) the prevention and combatting of soil erosion;
- d) the fertilization of lands with fertilizers.

Article 25. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for taking measures for the purpose of managing forests for grazing, by seeding and overseeding, in accordance with the established program, and, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, organizes grazing in the forests while adhering to forestry standards.

Article 26. - The Ministry of Silviculture, together with the appropriate organs, assigns and organizes grazing in the pastures and the harvesting and use of the hay from the forests, while adhering to the legal norms.

Article 27. - The pastures and fields in the mountain regions and in the forests in other regions will be leased out by the Ministry of Silviculture, through the county forest inspectorates, upon the payment of the charges as established by law. They will be leased to state socialist and cooperatist agricultural units, as well as to the people's farms.



The socialist units or persons who lease the pastures or fields are required to adhere to the regulations governing the maintenance and use of these fields and to ensure the protection, conservation and integrity of the forest resources.

#### F. With Regards to the Development of Game Animals

Article 28. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for all activities to develop game animals, to which end:

- a) it ensures the growth in the numbers of animals and the take from each category of animals;
- b) it takes measures to ensure the feeding and care of game animals;
- c) it pursues the continuing increase in the quality of game animals by improving the structure of the age and sexes of the trophy species and by appropriately applying a selection process;
- d) it ensures the protection of the animals from diseases and other harmful factors, as well as guarding the game animals against poachers;
- e) it takes measures to extend the areas populated by game animals by intensifying the population of appropriate game species, to create a feed supply and to create game animal farms and complexes in which to raise higher quality and quantities of game animals;
- f) it ensures the hunting and use of game animals in accordance with plan provisions, with respect for the biological balance and the maintenance of an optimum number of animals by species;
- g) it pursues and is responsible for the strict adherence to legal provisions regarding game animals.

Article 29. - The Ministry of Silviculture, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and the National Council for the Protection of the Environment, is responsible for implementing those measures that are necessary to limit the negative effects of using pesticides upon game animals.

#### G. With Regards to Managing Rivers and Lakes in Mountain Regions and Increasing Fish Production

Article 30. - The Ministry of Silviculture organizes and is responsible for the complete achievement of fish production in mountain rivers and lakes in accordance with the piscicultural development program, to which end:

- a) it is responsible for carrying out all piscicultural management and maintenance projects on rivers, streams, dams and lakes in the mountain regions, regardless of the holder, for the purpose of increasing fish production according to the piscicultural development program;

- b) it takes measures to populate and repopulate rivers, reservoirs and mountain lakes with productive fish species that are adequate for each region, as well as to provide the necessary hatchery stock;
- c) it ensures adherence to the legal provisions regarding the protection and safeguarding of piscicultural resources against diseases and other harmful factors;
- d) it establishes the timeframes and conditions under which fishing is carried out, and takes measures against poaching according to legal provisions;
- e) it reviews and takes measures to use reservoirs of hydrotechnical waters within the forests that belong to others for the purpose of achieving the established level of fish production.

Article 31. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for organizing fishing in mountain waters and the complete achievement of the program to increase the production of trout and other valuable fish species in hatcheries.

#### H. With Regards to the Development of Sericulture

Article 32. - The Ministry of Silviculture is responsible for the complete fulfillment of its tasks in the sericultural development program, to which end:

- a) it establishes the required production tasks for silkworm farms by each forestry inspectorate, and it pursues and reviews the manner of fulfilling these tasks by forestry region, district and canton;
- b) it takes measures, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, to provide the reproduction materials and distribute them by region in accordance with the types of trees and shrubs that are used in the feeding of silkworms;
- c) it provides the material base for the production of silkworm cocoons in its own units, as well as for other producers, in accordance with the established plan tasks; it reviews and guides all production activities that are carried out in the units in the forests regardless of their subordination;
- d) it organizes the collection of silkworm cocoons and the delivery of them to the established units in accordance with the plan tasks.

Article 33. - The Ministry of Silviculture participates in the drawing up of the sericultural development programs and, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, takes measures to organize plantations in the forests and along borders of those types of trees and shrubs that can provide food for silkworms.

## I. With Regards to the Development of Beekeeping

Article 34. - The Ministry of Silviculture organizes and is responsible for implementing the provisions of the apicultural development program at all units that carry out their activities within the forests, to which end:

- a) it is responsible for the complete fulfillment of its tasks in the apicultural development program regarding the number of the beehives and the growth of apicultural production;
- b) it assigns, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the people's councils and other beekeepers, those land areas with an adequate amount of flora to support beehives within the pastoral system, in the forests and outside the forests proper, and is responsible for their proper use;
- c) it organizes the collection of apicultural products and the full delivery of them to the appropriate units, in accordance with the established tasks.

## J. With Regards to Scientific Research

Article 35. - The Ministry of Silviculture, together with the Academy of Agricultural and Forest Sciences, is responsible for the direction, organization and management of scientific research activities in the areas of silviculture, game animals and pisciculture in mountain waters, ensuring the genetic improvement of seedstock and seed materials, the improvement of technologies for forestry projects, the improvement of degraded lands and the prevention and combatting of diseases and pests that are harmful to the forest fauna and vegetation.

Article 36. - The Ministry of Silviculture and the Academy of Agricultural and Forest Sciences draw up research programs, and review and pursue the application and spread of the results of scientific research in the activities of the production units, to which end:

- a) they develop the production of seeds and genetically improved forestation materials, both for their own needs and for other land holders;
- b) they take measures to create certain high productivity valuable forest species that are resistant to damaging factors, especially those species that are quick-growing native species;
- c) they draw up technologies for all categories of forestry projects;
- d) they establish the most valuable lands for grasses and fodder plants and the types of flowers that are adequate for the pedoclimatic conditions in each region;
- e) they work up technologies for seeding and overseeding, regeneration, improvement, maintenance and use of natural pastures.

Article 37. - The Ministry of Silviculture establishes the group of technical-scientific measures for using the potential in the hunting and fishing resources in the mountain water, ensuring the optimum conditions for improving, maintaining and developing the fishing and hunting fauna.

Article 38. - The Ministry of Silviculture organizes, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, activities in technological research and engineering for the production and adaptation of silkworm species that can be raised in our country in accordance with our vegetation, region and microclimate.

Article 39. - The Ministry of Silviculture organizes, together with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and the Beekeepers Association, activities in research and adaptation of bee species in the area of ensuring and developing apiculture.

Article 40. - The Ministry of Silviculture, together with the Academy of Agricultural and Forest Sciences, organizes, reviews and is responsible for research and the application of its results in actions to prevent and combat diseases and pests, to which end:

- a) it develops research regarding the biology of pests and other pathogenic agents for the purpose of creating certain efficient biological biotreatments and of improving the technologies for preparing and producing these treatments, as well as of reducing the number of chemical treatments used in protection actions;
- b) it improves the methods to prevent and combat pests that damage the forests and to establish forecasts of diseases and pests and the most efficient measures to combat them by using chemicals, biological means and integrated means;
- c) it promotes and spreads the integrated systems for preventing and combatting diseases and pests through the rational blending of chemical means and biological means, the use of physical-mechanical materials and the application of the entire group of phyto-sanitary measures.

#### K. Other Attributes

Article 41. - The Ministry of Silviculture also fulfills the following attributes in its field of activities:

- a) it draws up studies and programs regarding the sizes, levels, rates and directions of development in silviculture in the future, keeping in mind its role in the overall national economy and the orientations, trends and progress achieved throughout the world;
- b) it draws up drafts of the annual and future plans, and assigns economic and financial indicators to its subordinate units;

c) it is responsible for the achievement of planned production, as well as for the fulfillment of its other indicators in the unified national economic-social development plan and the state budget;

d) it is responsible for respecting the norms for the consumption of raw materials, materials and fuels, it takes measures for the continuing reduction in the consumption of materials, energy and manpower, and it ensures the recovery and use of reusable material resources;

e) it draws up technical-economic documentation for investment projects; it organizes, guides and reviews the design and carrying out of investment projects, and takes measures to adhere to their start-up schedules;

f) it guides and coordinates activities to organize production and work in its subordinate units; it organizes activities to draw up, apply and follow up on labor standards and norms for all categories of personnel in the silviculture branch of the economy; it organizes the drawing up of unified labor standards and norms throughout the economy for projects where it is the coordinator; it approves the specific methodologies for standardization, as well as the unified standards and norms in its field of activities, and it reviews their manner of implementation;

g) it analyzes the periodic reports and reviews of its subordinate units, and it completes those that deal with the entire ministry;

h) it completes and executes the budget of incomes and expenditures for the central administration of the ministry and its subordinate budgetary units;

i) it carries out its attributes according to the laws regarding prices and charges in its field of activities;

j) it draws up and approves, according to law, the national-level norms specific to silviculture and pursues their implementation;

k) it guides activities in the area of inventions and innovations and is concerned for the spread of the most important achievements; it makes proposals regarding problems of categorization and standardization;

l) it ensures the implementation of the policies of the party and state in personnel problems, to which end:

- it establishes the unified criteria for the selection, training, upgrade training and promotion of personnel in silviculture, and it reviews their implementation;

- it establishes the required number of personnel for the future and takes measures to train them, according to law;

- it employs personnel for its own staff, and it names, according to law, the management organs of its subordinate units;
  - it draws up the required norms regarding the attributes and tasks for personnel in the county forestry inspectorates and the forestry regions;
  - it takes measures so that all workers will adhere to and strictly and precisely carry out the norms established by the law and the duty attributes, and so that there will be a strengthening of work order and discipline;
  - it organizes and ensures professional upgrade training for personnel, as well as the periodic check on their knowledge, and the knowledge of laws, decisions and other normative acts and the regulations on behavior specific to forestry personnel;
  - it provides the material base and equipment for its specialized vocational high schools and professional schools, as well as the faculty having the necessary specialization;
- m) it participates in the drawing up of proposals regarding the improvement of the elements in the salary system in silviculture; it draws up technical standards for the unified implementation of the elements of the salary system for its subordinate units, and it reviews the manner of their implementation;
- n) it establishes, according to law, measures regarding worker safety for the purpose of providing the best working conditions and preventing work accidents and professional illnesses, as well as for the continuing improvement of living conditions;
- o) it organizes documentary reporting activities and provides information to its subordinate units regarding trends in technical-scientific progress on the national and international level; it puts out publications and works regarding problems in science, technology and production specific to the activities it is involved with;
- p) it guides and reviews the General Association of Sport Hunters and Fishermen in the Socialist Republic of Romania, and it supports its activities;
- r) it fulfills any other attributes outlined by law.

### Chapter III

#### Organization and Operation

Article 42. - The collective leadership of the Ministry of Silviculture is achieved by the Leadership Committee of the Silvicultural Council. Current leadership activities of the ministry are carried out by the Executive Bureau of the Silvicultural Council.

Article 43. - The ministry informs the Leadership Committee and the Executive Bureau of the Silvicultural Council regarding the principal problems resolved during the period between its sessions.

Article 44. - The Ministry of Silviculture leadership is composed of a minister, a deputy minister and a state secretary.

The deputy minister and the state secretary are named by presidential decree and their attributes are established by the Leadership Committee of the Silvicultural Council.

Article 45. - The minister represents the ministry in its relations with other organs and organizations in the country, as well as in international relations.

Article 46. - The Ministry of Silviculture contains, according to Decree No 78/1973, a Technical-Economic Council which operates as a working organ alongside the collective leadership organs in the ministry.

Article 47. - The Ministry of Silviculture has the following organizational structure:

- a) the State Inspectorate for the Conservation, Development and Review of Forestry Resource Exploitation;
- b) the State Inspectorate for Pastures and Fields in the Mountain Regions and Forests in Other Regions and the Improvement of Degraded Lands;
- c) the State Inspectorate for Game Animals and Fish in Mountain Waters and the Use of Forest Products;
- d) the Plan-Development, Financial and Commercial Directorate;
- e) the Organization, Review, Personnel and Training Office;
- f) the Secretariat-Administrative, Legal and Arbitration Office.

The organizational structure in the work departments and the maximum number of personnel in the ministry apparatus are those listed in Annexes 1 and 2 (Annexes 1 and 2 were forwarded to the interested institutions).

Article 48. - The Ministry of Silviculture has in its subordination county forestry inspectorates, enterprises, research and design units, forestry management units, specialized vocational high schools and professional schools.

The Ministry of Silviculture has in direct subordination those units listed in Annex No 3.

Article 49. - The operating attributes and norms for the units listed in Article 47 are established by the Leadership Committee of the Silvicultural Council, according to legal norms.

#### Chapter IV

#### Final Provisions

Article 50. - The workers who move to the Ministry of Silviculture, as well as those transferred to other units as a result of the reorganization of the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials, are considered transferred in the interest of work.

Article 51. - Personnel transferred in the interest of work or moved within the same unit to positions with lower salaries, as well as those personnel who become available for other work as a result of the implementation of the provisions of this decree, benefit from the rights listed in Article 21 in Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified norms for the structure of economic units.

Article 52. - The Ministry of Silviculture and its subordinate units are equipped, through the unified national plan and the criteria outlined by law, with transport vehicles, machinery, tools, mechanization equipment, workshops and other similar items necessary for their activities.

Article 53. - The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of proposals by the Ministry of Silviculture and other interested central organs, will submit for approval the modifications stemming from the implementation of this decree within the unified national economic-social development plan for 1982 and for the 1982-1985 period, as well as within the state budget.

Article 54. - The provisions in laws, decrees and other normative acts referring to the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials are appropriately applied to the Ministry of Silviculture, as established and organized according to this decree and according to the object of its activities.

Article 55. - Annexes 1-3 are an integral part of this decree.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 13 September 1982  
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[Annex No 3 on next page]



Annex No 3

Listing of Units Subordinate to the Ministry of Silviculture

Name	Headquarters Located in	County
Alba County Forestry Inspectorate	Alba Iulia Municipality	Alba
Arad County Forestry Inspectorate	Arad Municipality	Arad
Arges County Forestry Inspectorate	Pitesti Municipality	Arges
Bacau County Forestry Inspectorate	Bacau Municipality	Bacau
Bihor County Forestry Inspectorate	Oradea Municipality	Bihor
Bistrita-Nasaud County Forestry Inspectorate	Bistrita Municipality	Bistrita-Nasaud
Botosani County Forestry Inspectorate	Botosanu Municipality	Botosani
Brasov County Forestry Inspectorate	Brasov Municipality	Brasov
Braila County Forestry Inspectorate	Braila Municipality	Braila
Buzau County Forestry Inspectorate	Buzau Municipality	Buzau
Caras-Severin County Forestry Inspectorate	Resita Municipality	Caras-Severin
Calarasi County Forestry Inspectorate	Calarasi Municipality	Calarasi
Cluj County Forestry Inspectorate	Cluj-Napoca Municipality	Cluj
Constanta County Forestry Inspectorate	Constanta Municipality	Constanta
Covasna County Forestry Inspectorate	Sfintu Gheorghe Municipality	Covasna
Dimbovita County Forestry Inspectorate	Tirgoviste Municipality	Dimbovita
Dolj County Forestry Inspectorate	Craiova Municipality	Dolj
Galati County Forestry Inspectorate	Galati Municipality	Galati
Giurgiu County Forestry Inspectorate	Comana	Giurgiu
Gorj County Forestry Inspectorate	Tirgu Jiu Municipality	Gorj
Harghita County Forestry Inspectorate	Miercurea-Ciuc Municipality	Harghita
Hunedoara County Forestry Inspectorate	Deva Municipality	Hunedoara
Ialomita County Forestry Inspectorate	Slobozia Municipality	Ialomita
Iasi County Forestry Inspectorate	Iasi Municipality	Iasi
Maramures County Forestry Inspectorate	Baia Mare Municipality	Maramures
Mehedinti County Forestry Inspectorate	Drobeta-Turnu Severin Municipality	Mehedinti
Mures County Forestry Inspectorate	Tirgu Mures Municipality	Mures
Neamt County Forestry Inspectorate	Piatra-Neamt Municipality	Neamt
Olt County Forestry Inspectorate	Slatina Municipality	Olt
Prahova County Forestry Inspectorate	Ploiesti Municipality	Prahova
Satu Mare County Forestry Inspectorate	Satu Mare Municipality	Satu Mare
Salaj County Forestry Inspectorate	Zalau Municipality	Salaj
Sibiu County Forestry Inspectorate	Sibiu Municipality	Sibiu
Suceava County Forestry Inspectorate	Suceava Municipality	Suceava
Teleorman County Forestry Inspectorate	Alexandria Municipality	Teleorman
Timis County Forestry Inspectorate	Timisoara Municipality	Timis
Tulcea County Forestry Inspectorate	Tulcea Municipality	Tulcea
Vaslui County Forestry Inspectorate	Vaslui Municipality	Vaslui
Vilcea County Forestry Inspectorate	Rimnicu Vilcea Municipality	Vilcea
Vrancea County Forestry Inspectorate	Focsani Municipality	Vrancea
Bucharest Municipality Forestry Inspectorate	Bucharest Municipality	-

[Annex 3 continued]

Name	Headquarters located in	County
Institute of Silvicultural Research and Management	Stefanestii de Jos, Ilfov Agricultural Sector [IAS] Branesti, IAS	
Branesti Silvicultural High School		
Cimpulung Moldovenesc Silvicultural High School	Cimpulung Moldovenesc City	Suceava
Gurghiu Silvicultural High School	Gurghiu	Mures
Nasaud Silvicultural High School	Nasaud City	Bistrita-Nasaud
Timisoara Silvicultural High School	Timisoara Municipality	Timis
Branesti Silvicultural Vocational School	Branesti, IAS	-
Cimpulung Moldovenesc Silvicultural Vocational School	Cimpulung Moldovenesc City	Suceava
Gurghiu Silvicultural Vocational School	Gurghiu	Mures
Nasaud Silvicultural Vocational School	Nasaud City	Bistrita-Nasaud
Timisoara Silvicultural Vocational School	Timisoara Municipality	Timis

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## ABUSE OF TERM 'SELF-MANAGEMENT' ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1655, 19 Sep 82  
pp 18-19

[Article by Dr Nenad I. Kecmanovic: "Self-Management as an Excuse"]

[Text] For years now we have been witnesses: whenever, wherever and whatever goes wrong for someone in this society--the solution is always and above all in self-management. If production is off, if exports decline, if there is not enough foreign exchange, if a strike occurs, if there is a shortage in the stores of coffee, oil or detergent, if prices jump up, if some major case of embezzlement or misuse of funds is detected, if the president of an opstina or chairman of a business board is removed, if there is a snag in conclusion of an agreement among the republics, should a major fire or transportation accident occur, if there is an outbreak of nationalism or something of the like--we know in advance why this has happened to us. Because of the lack of self-management! Aside from establishing the objective circumstances and concrete causes, the political assessment must always and everywhere be rounded off in the same way and must run approximately like this: "After extensive debate of what brought about the unfortunate situation and about ways of overcoming it the party members unanimously concluded that underdeveloped relations of self-management are at the heart and that the only way out is to continue to build them more consistently."

The examples chosen at random of certain of our typical current social troubles obviously have in common only that the same diagnosis and therapy is by divine agency and out of inertia assigned to each of them. And this kind of systematic abuse turns the demand for improvement of self-management as a purely essential condition of our overall progress, which is in and of itself justified, into nothing more than the petty politician's rhetoric. To a man of plain common sense this mannerism of inappropriately applying one and the same phrase to completely uncomparable contexts will seem like a comical affectation in which someone has an interest, but who knows why. The better-educated will probably associate this truly unusual procedure with surrealist poetry or the theater of the absurd, and will strive to penetrate to some deeper level of political metaphysics. However, one familiar with the iron logic of the behavior of the bureaucratic mentality will recognize in this questionable practice a stratagem which, to be sure, is low-level, but is very rational and functional.

That is, the construction "the relations of self-management are not adequately developed and should be more vigorously added to"--has become so general that it can be stretched to fit every occasion, and it is even difficult to dispute its perpetual and universal applicability. And then it is stereotyped and simple enough so that anyone can easily master it as an accessible sloganeering substitute for a more serious analytical effort. Moreover, it is not a whit less politically affirmative for that, and he who uses it demonstrates that he has not allowed the problems to get the better of him, but rather is looking at them from a broader and far more optimistic standpoint. Moreover, it is also sufficiently vague, so that as a critical remark it does not affect anyone in particular, but always sounds like impersonal and good-natured collective self-criticism. And finally what is probably most important: it is extremely inoperative, so that it does not commit anyone to anything. So, to sum up--say that more self-management is needed, and never fear that you will ever make a mistake.

Incidentally, it has been reiterated more than once in political forums that case histories reliably show that in all those regional and work communities which have achieved the best results in the material and every other aspect, self-management has also been the most highly developed. Conversely, wherever self-management relations have broken down, nothing else worked either. It turns out, then, that the lack of self-management is the one-way cause of all our troubles and not at one and the same time their consequence. However, it is generally known that in phases of economic prosperity every model of the organization of management, even the most autocratic, appears to be very functional and relatively tolerable. Just as, conversely, in drastically unfavorable economic circumstances even the most democratic model can very easily be compromised. Why should self-management be an exception to that rule?

The assessment, then, that our current problems at the material base of society are among other things a consequence of the stagnation of self-management is by no means complete unless it is emphasized at the same time that the converse also holds that the standstill in self-management occurred because of the crisis of growth or the growth of crisis in our economy. The linkup between the economy and self-management is not unidirectional so that one can simply state that one is the cause and the other the consequence, but a dialectical and reciprocal relationship, which is why progress in both these aspects of our social life must inevitably be balanced. The constant bagpiping about how we will resolve everything by a radical advance in the development of self-management as an independent variable is a spreading of illusions with manifold negative effects.

In any case, if self-management--as our mystifiers seem to think--really were the panacea that has finally been found--the antibiotic with the broadest spectrum, then it would be best if we gave up everything else and threw ourselves solely into producing it as fast as possible and in the largest possible quantities, so that then everything else would automatically take care of itself. At least for that we do not need imported production supplies, nor petroleum, nor foreign exchange. And that we are truly inclined to believe in this is indirectly shown by the habit of our simply saying "forces opposed to self-management" whenever we want of a sudden to name the enemies of all stripes and forms,

and their conceptions we refer to briefly as "platforms opposed to self-management." This intellectual laziness in which we nonchalantly reach for blanket labels instead of a more subtle critical analysis--which Lazar Mojsov spoke about instructively in one of the last meetings of the LCY Central Committee before the congress from the position he held at that time as a high party official--is costing us dearly. After all, the devil take it, these real and imagined oppositionists are not mute either. And they have knocked together this consecrated mechanism for mystification of self-management as the sacred criterion of everything under the sun, so that now they are operating under the same slogan: Self-management!

It might even be said that every version of our opposition that is at all advanced has already managed to round out some kind of self-management facade of its own, adapted to its own real orientation. Without exaggeration we have today a whole range of versions of self-management in circulation extending from the ultraleft and anarcholiberalistic to the ultraright and nationalistic-separatistic and encompassing a number of transitional forms. By no means are we referring here only to ideologically conceptualized and politically formalized (op)positions, but also to specific varieties of practical behavior which is not even conscious of its objective significance.

To illustrate, self-management is appealed to with equal conscientiousness by managers who want to operate arbitrarily and by workers who do not want to work at all.

This kind of manager usually counts on his personal irresponsibility being diluted in collective coresponsibility on the one hand and in the universal responsibility of self-management on the other. A part of his guilt, that is, is passed on in a chain to higher levels, which in order to protect the hierarchical ladder, will provide him with a new more or less equally good personnel assignment. And the remainder will be taken over by self-management as the scapegoat which is perpetually on duty and which somehow has never grown up enough to have a decisive influence, but is always grown up enough to be criticized for not having grown fast enough.

So, this kind of worker relies on self-management as a systematic tolerance of the system toward negligence, lack of discipline, idleness and donothingness. A whole arsenal of phrases have become commonplace which openly affirm this lack of resistance of self-management standards to a practice that is opposed to self-management. "No one could ever pay me so little that I cannot work less." Unfortunately, there is no great amount of exaggeration in this. Many people have transferred their leisure activities to their working hours, so that in the afternoon they can be fresh and rested when they dedicate themselves to serious business on their own time. Everything begins in the morning when there is no coffee at home, and so it is sipped abundantly at work, and then after a brief spell of work comes what is referred to as the hot meal. With the support of our gourmand appetite, home-cooked specialties are added to the modest choice afforded by coupons and subsidized cafeterias, turning this noontime lunch (!) into a full-blown feast in the close circle of one's colleagues. To replace the occasional evenings with the boys we once had, we now have everyday matinees with the boys after which the company with stretched

stomachs slowly prepares to go home. Truly it cannot be denied that this work style stimulates human contact, nor can we say that fictional sick leave at the time of planting and harvest does not help the necessary development of agriculture, and least of all can it be said that this type of comfortable laxity in the atmosphere of self-management is not cherished by our workers.

So, both bad managers and bad workers equally like the practice of self-management which has normatively been so fully elaborated and which in actual fact has been constricted. In the labyrinth of self-management institutions, that is, there is no lack of hiding places for the manager who wants to work as he pleases and the worker who wants to work as little as possible. Each of them is more interested in doing the management himself than in self-management. And society falls into the paradoxical situation of weaving an ever denser network of solutions into the self-management system so that however much it corrects the present situation, at the same time and to an equal extent it is providing it an institutional cover. That is why some people think that there is too much self-management and others that there is too little, some that poor enforcement is compromising excellent normative premises, and others that the system itself cannot be free of blame for the poor way in which it is implemented. To vary Danojlovic's witty remark that for the Serbs food is both the treatment and the disease, we might remark that self-management is putting the Yugoslavs into difficulties, but is also pulling them out of it.

All of western Europe has been talking about self-management for quite some time now, as in fact has eastern Europe. "From the Atlantic to the Urals" everyone is today in favor of one or the other method of self-management. Why, then, should it not also be favored by our liberals, our nationalists, our unitarianists, our bureaucrats, technocrats, leftists, rightists, dogmatists?... But just let us see what these people mean by it! Just what kind of self-management? Is it what has been recorded in documents or what we have in reality? Is it the way it has been conceived by theoreticians or the way it is done by practical politicians? Is it seen more appropriately by the numerous representatives of our apologetic social science, or are the so-called cavillers closer to the truth?

There is a need for a more thorough reassessment as to what has changed over these 30 or so years during which we have constantly thundered assertions about how we are developing self-management. How far have we gotten in this ongoing development? In what aspects have we failed or even remained at the very outset, and why? From what standpoint have we achieved the most and thanks to what? What are we failing to do, and why? And what is there for us to do in the stage immediately ahead of us?

It is fine that we even utter the word self-management with a piety worthy of a symbol of patriotic identification. But, still, self-management is neither a national anthem, nor a flag, to be used only for those purposes.

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END